

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME LI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

J. R. REA

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PREFACE

ALL the items in this volume are documentary. They have been chosen for their individual interest and therefore touch on a great variety of topics, but the largest section, that of Official Documents, is concerned with the government and administration of Roman and Byzantine Egypt. Starting our selection at the highest level we may mention Chosroes II, 'king of kings', the recipient of the taxes in gold concerned in 3637, an official letter dating from AD 623, when Egypt was occupied by the Persians. Next come a rescript of Valerian and Gallienus about the emoluments of victors in sacred games (3611), a record of a judgement of Septimius Severus (3614), delivered in Alexandria in AD 200 in Latin (*τῇ πατρὶσι φωνῇ*), and a very fragmentary official letter concerned with the accession of Gordian I and/or Gordian II in AD 238 (3607). With these we can associate a group of sworn undertakings to assist in arrangements to supply pack animals during Caracalla's visit to Egypt in AD 215 (3602-5). The chronology of the changes of reign in AD 250 and 251 is affected by the date-clauses of 3608-10. As for consuls, the fragment of a roll with declarations of prices (3624-6) has revealed the *nomen* of a consul of AD 358, Censorius Datianus. Perhaps the most interesting contribution to the history of the provinces is the first documentary confirmation of the existence of the province of *Aegyptus Iouia*, hitherto known only from a single mention in a seventh-century manuscript; 3619 is a bilingual record of proceedings before a *praeses Aegypti Iouiae*. From 3636, one of several fragments of a roll containing lists of commodity prices and tax accounts, we get the first unambiguous evidence that the province of Arcadia contained a nome called the Theodosiopolite, to be distinguished from the Upper Theodosiopolite nome in the Thebaid. We learn of one new prefect of Egypt, Ti. Flavius Lactus, of AD 326 (3620). Three other prefects have contributed a letter (3612), an edict (3613), and a record of a judgement (3627). By way of sad contrast we can read the unflattering descriptions of runaway slaves in 3616 and 3617.

Dr Rea edited the texts and compiled the indexes. He would like to thank Dr Coles and Mr Parsons for help and support at every stage, and Dr I. Gershevitch for his specialist advice on Persian in connection with 3637. It is a pleasure to acknowledge again the skill and efficiency of the Oxford University Press and of their Reader, Dr L. A. Holford-Strevens.

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
General Editors,
Graeco-Roman Memoirs

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¹ All dates in this table are AD

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XLV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of letters lost are printed slightly below the line. The texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ^ an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. Lastly, heavy arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small roman numerals to columns.

The use of arrows (→, ↓) to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing has been abandoned for reasons put forward by E. G. Turner, 'The Terms Recto and Verso' (*Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie I: Papyrologica Bruxellensia 16* (1978) 64-5), except when they serve to distinguish the two sides of a page in a papyrus codex. In this volume most texts appear to accord with normal practice in being written parallel with the fibres on sheets of papyrus cut from the manufacturer's roll. Any departures from this practice which have been detected are described in the introductions to the relevant items.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (2nd edn., 1980). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI PUBLISHED BY THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

- I 14. A. S. Hollis, *CQ* ns 32 (1982) 117-20.
32. P. Cugusi, *ZPE* 42 (1981) 137-40; H. Cotton, *Documentary Letters of Recommendation in Latin from the Roman Empire* 15-23.
43 verso (= W. Chr. 474). 7. M. Del Fabbro, *Stud. Pap.* 21 (1982) 15-17.
105 22. After *Ἀδριανού* add *Κεβασίου*, which is present on the papyrus. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 181.
106 (= M. Chr. 308). 6. For *στρ(ατηγόν) Δημήτριον* read *στρ(ατηγέαντα) Δ.*, cf. P. Oxy. Hels. 19. 1, where Apolinarius is now attested as strategus on 14 March 134. Demetrius will be the strategus of 118-21, in which period the will in question was originally made. Correct *ZPE* 29 (1978) 173, Nos. 40, 46, and 47. J. E. G. Whitehorne.
146 3. For *εὐμάου* read *ἐν μόνον*. See LI 3640 5 n.
147 2. For *εὐμά(ου)* read *ἐν μόνον*. See LI 3640 5 n.
3. For the era date *αλα και c* read *αβ και α* = AD 555/6 = indiction 4; the date of the document is 7 April 556. See LI 3640 5 n.
172 (description). Edition by R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 263-5, with Taf. XV b.
II 331 (description). Edition by A. Martin, *CE* 56 (1981) 299-303.
15-16. For [± 6] *.. και ρ. . . τών* read and restore probably [*και τών*] *επιχοιρῆσι τών (= κυρῶντων)*. J. R. Rea.
III 420. W. Luppe, *Philologus* 125 (1981) 181-7.
574. F. Montanari, *ZPE* 48 (1982) 89-92.
IV 663. E. W. Handley, *BICS* 29 (1982) 110, 114.
VII 1021. M. G. Schmidt, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 45-50.
VIII 1110 18. For *Ἰδιρκ*. [read probably *Ἰδιόκρητος*. See L 3555 5 n.
IX 1174. E. V. Maltse, *Sofocle, Ichneutes* (Papyrologica Florentina, Vol. X, 1982).
1197 29-30. For *Σαραπίων*[ν] *ἐγ[γραφα]* read *Σαραπίων*[ν οὐ] *ἐγ[γραμμάς]*, cf. 17-19 with the correction recorded in XLIII, p. xv. For a similar guarantor's subscription see e.g. XLVII 3344 30-3. The traces at the beginnings of 1197 31-2 are too uncertain to support any further restoration of the text. P. J. Sijpesteijn.
X 1293 5, 33, 39. A. M. Tromp, *Stud. Pap.* 21 (1982) 39-40.
1317 (description). Transcription in J. Bingen *et al.*, *Au temps où on lisait le grec en Égypte*. Catalogue de l'exposition de papyrus et d'ostraca (1977), p. 14, No. 31.
XI 1394 (description). Edition by W. E. H. Cockle, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 166-8.
XII 1407 21-2. On a possible version for the restoration of the titulature of Aurelian see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 194, n. 53.
1454 12. For [*Καίσαρος Νερούα Τραιανῶ*] read probably [*Καίσαρος Νερούα Τραιανού Ἰερ*] *στρ*[ο]ν. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 179.
1560 13. For *ἄρι. ω Ἀρήλιω Ὀρείων* read *Καλποῦρητιω κτλ*. See L 3564 1 n.
XIII 1611 2 124-30. L. Leurini, *QUCC* 38 ns 9 (1981) 155-61.
XIV 1627 29. The notary Diogenes appears also in XLIII 3146 26, where restore *δὲ ἐμοῦ Διοῦ γένεου*, and in PSI VIII 882. 14. K. A. Worp.
1635. For the date (44-30 BC) see XLIX 3482 introd. para. 3.

- 1648 13. For *Ἀρρηλίων* read probably *Ἀρρηλίων*. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 185.
 1695 14. M. Del Fabbro, *Stud. Pap.* 21 (1982) 15-17.
 1703. This is to be dated c. 260/1, see P. Upps. Frid 5, which mentions the same cosmetes Aurelius Apion alias Ptolion in this year.
 1704 11. For *μοι* (l. *μου*) *ἀ[ν]τ[ε]ρικοῦ* (l. *ἀντλητικοῦ*) read *μοιλ[αίου] ἀλετικοῦ*. See LI 3639 10-11 n.
 1776 11. For *Ἐμψαύ* read *Παψαύ*. See L 3556 14-15 n.
 XV 1807. Cf. P. Köln IV 185, another fragment of the same manuscript, containing Aratus, *Phaenomena* 918-29, with scholia.
 XVI 1843. This is perhaps to be dated to 6 November 623. See LI 3637 introd.
 1878 1. For *ἠερῶλ()* read *ἠερακ(εοπόλι)*. See LI 3619 introd., p. 48.
 1890 8. For *στρυκός* read *ἀλετικός*. See LI 3639 10-11 n.
 XVII 2106 1. This line of *ed. pr.* is actually two lines in the original. J. R. Rea, *JRS* 54 (1964) 205.
 2153 4-5. For *(τετρά)χ(ορα?) Ἐρλβ, διπ(λά) ρκα, δίχο(ρα?) λζ* read *(τετρά)χ(οα) Ἐρλβ, δι(πλο-κέρμα) ρκα, δίχο(α) λζ*. See L 3595 10-12 n.
 XVIII 2162. D. F. Sutton, *GRBS* 22 (1981) 335-8.
 2193, 2194. A related letter has been published in P. Köln IV 200.
 XX 2256 ^{9(a)}, ^{9(b)}. D. F. Sutton, *ZPE* 51 (1983) 19-24.
 XXI 2288 18-19. M. Parca, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 47-50.
 XXII 2310 ¹ i 9. Restore perhaps *ἀμφὶ δὲ ψ[ύ]χων*. C. Carey, *LCM* 6 (1981) 247-8.
 XXVII 2455 ⁶. W. Luppe, *Studi classici e orientali* 32 (1982) 231-3.
¹⁴ 233-45. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 51 (1983) 25-8.
^{107(+57²)}. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 15-19.
^{24, 84, 95, 111, 123}. Ibid. 19-21.
^{48, 126}. W. Luppe, *Philologus* 126 (1982) 313-15.
 2457. W. Luppe, *Philologus* 126 (1982) 10-18.
 2470. L. Robert, *REG* 94 (1981) 446-7, No. 479; K. Weitzmann, *The Age of Spirituality*, No. 86.
 XXXIX 2506 ²⁸ i 12-16. S. West, *ZPE* 47 (1982) 6-10.
 XXX 2513. R. Janko, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 25-9.
 XXXI 2586 7, 12, 17, 38, 44; XXXVIII 2875 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 23, 25, 29. In these third-century documents the apprentice's master, in one case a weaver and in the other a builder, is called *ἐπιστάτης*. Compare A. Thierfelder, *Philologos der Lachfreund* 100-1, 261 (§199), 102-3 (§200). These are two jokes about barbers' apprentices whose masters are called *ἐπιστάτης*. Evidently it was a technical term of the institution of apprenticeship. J. R. Rea.
 XXXIII 2660. J. Kramer, *Glossaria Bilingua* 63-6.
 2660a. Ibid. 67-8.
 2673. E. Wipszycka, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 117-21.
 XXXIV 2723 18. Restore probably *ἀκ κ[α]ὶ [ἐν]τρίθεν προφέρε[τ]ρ[α] ἀποχαρ[ί]ζεσθαι*. See LI 3638 16-17 n.
 XXXV 2735. L. Carmignani, *Athenaeum* 60 (1982) 172-9.
 2737 34-51. W. Luppe, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 147-59.
 44-51. G. Mastromarco, *ZPE* 51 (1983) 29-35.
 XXXVI 2783 29. Perhaps read *τὸν Τύφλον*, which would in that case be the name of a slave rather than the description of an animal, see BGU XIV 2425, 24, cf. *RHDFE* 60 (1980) 124.
 XXXVII 2803 ¹ back. M. L. West, *ZPE* 48 (1982) 86.
 2806. E. W. Handley, *BICS* 29 (1982) 109-17.
 2812. J. S. Rusten, *HSCP* 84 (1980) 339.
 XXXVIII 2845 8. For *ε[ρ]*, [read perhaps *Ἀστ[ε]ρ[ί]τ[α]*. J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 254-5.
 2847. D. Bonneau, *JJP* 19 (1983) 131-53.
 2857. L. Migliardi-Zingale, *Anagennesis* 2 (1982) 114-17.
 2875. See above under XXXI 2586.

- XXXIX 2889. L. Rossetti, C. Lausdei, *Rhein. Mus.*, NF 124 (1981) 154-65.
 XL 2933 2. M. Del Fabbro, *Stud. Pap.* 21 (1982) 18-19.
 XLII 3016. A. Biscardi, *Labeo* 27 (1981) 331-4.
 XLIII 3094 40 n. On *θαλλοτ* at temples of Sarapis see also P. Nautin, *REG* 90 (1977) xii; A. Thierfelder, *Philologos der Lachfreund* 56-7, 224-5 (§76), where the textual problem may perhaps be solved by emending to *πα(ίδα)ρίω*.
 3096 18. The suggestion by P. Mertens, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 38 (1981) 607 that we should read *υψ* (= *πρεσκαίδεκαετείς*) for *ι, ς* does not appear to suit the remains. J. R. Rea.
 3105 11 n. For '12 June' read '24 June' (cf. 3104). P. Mertens, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 38 (1981) 607.
 3111 5-6. On the title of the legion, *λεγιώνος* . . . *Ὀυαλερι(ων)ών και Γαλληνής*, see C. Zaccaria, *Quaderni di storia antica e di epigrafia* 2 (1978) 75-6 n. 45.
 3114 2-3. This *φύλαρχος* of AD 267, Aurelius Diogenes alias Hermias, has appeared also as *λαογράφος* in XXXVIII 2855 (AD 291) and as *εὐεργάτης* in P. Cornell 18 (AD 291) and XLIV 3183 (AD 292). P. Mertens, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 38 (1981) 608.
 3123 7-8 n. For *δημοσία ἐπιστήμη* as a translation of *publica disciplina* compare also Eusebius, *HE* viii 17.6 *κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους νόμους και τὴν δημοσίαν ἐπιστήμην τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, 9 μηδὲν ὑπεραντίον τῆς ἐπιστήμης*, which is very like 3123 7-8. These phrases occur in an edict of Galerius, translated from Latin, see 11, *ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων φωνήν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλωτταν κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μεταληφθέντα*. J. R. Rea.
 3127 6. For *κατ]αρμοσσοῦ* other possibilities are *προ]σμοσσοῦ* or *προ]σμοσσοῦ*. See L 3576 6 n.
 3129 margin. For *Ι()* read *Α]ε(andraiae)*. See L 3577 introd. (p. 195).
 3146 26. See above under XIV 1627 29.
 XLIV 3154 heading. As the first element of the inventory number for '26' read '21'.
 3160. F. Montanari, *Studi classici e orientali* 31 (1981) 101-10.
 3178 heading. As the third element of the inventory number for '16' read '76'.
 3187 heading. As the last element of the inventory number for 'a' read 'c'.
 XLV 3238 heading. As the third element of the inventory number for '1' read '12'.
 XLVI 3272 introd., para. 1. In the titlature of Nero *Κλαυδίου* is indispensable and must have stood at the beginning of l. 3. P. J. Sijpesteijn.
 This leaves more space in the lacuna at the beginnings of ll. 1-2 than was envisaged in *ed. pr.* There can be no certainty about supplements, but there may have been a longer name in l. 1. L. 2 might have been indented or might have contained a short verb plus the article *τό* to go with *κατ' ἄνδρα*. J. R. Rea.
 3285. E. Bresciani, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 4 (1981) 201-15, with the remarks of J. M. Modrzejewski, *RHDFE* 60 (1982) 472-3.
 32-7. For Egyptian roof gutters cf. H. E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt from the Tomb of Meket-Rê* 18-19, pls. 6, 9, 11, 15. W. J. Tait.
 3310 heading. As the fourth element of the inventory number for '2' read 'B'.
 3315. J. Kramer, *Glossaria Bilingua* 69-70.
 XLVII 3317 R. Scodel, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 37-42.
 3319. J. N. O'Sullivan-W. A. Beck, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 71-83.
 3328 heading. As the first element of the inventory number for '34' read '35'.
 3332 heading. As the last element of the inventory number for 'd' read 'a'.
 3338 heading. As the third element of the inventory number for '76' read '46'.
 7-9. D. Hagedorn, P. Köln IV 188 introd. n. 2 (p. 178).
 3352 heading. As the fourth element of the inventory number for 'H' read 'K'.
 XLVIII 3368 A 40, 3369 A 40. E. G. Turner, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 113-16.
 XLIX 3462 introd. para. 3 (pp. 109-10). Contrary to what was stated there the word *διάζωμα*, not yet in the papyrological dictionaries, has appeared in the papyri, in BGU IV 1188. 7, cf. M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 44 n. 1, although Wilcken suggested that we should read *διαζώματος* in place of *δμαζώματος* (BL VI 15; *APF* 6 (1920) 282). No doubt *δμαζώματος* is

- right. Although the text of BGU 1188 is obscure, it clearly shows that the *διάλωμα* is an irrigation channel. J. R. Rea.
- 3501 heading. For 'Third/fourth century' read 'Third century', because the institution of *epicrisis* disappeared during the reforms of Diocletian. J. M. Modrzejewski, *RHFD* 61 (1983) 161.
- Index I (a), p. 259. For *ἄριστος* read *ἄριστον*. E. G. Turner.
- L 3533 7-8 = 3532³ 9-10. Restore e.g. *αἰχρών [ἀπέχεται] [οὐδ' ἄντιω]*. L. A. Holford-Strevens.
- 3541 3. Restore e.g. *ἀνὴρ δ' ἀρεῖ γῶν οὐδὲ συμβουλήν ἔοι*. 'The man who gives up can't even offer good advice.' L. A. Holford-Strevens.
- P. Ant. II 102. The date is perhaps AD 445 rather than AD 390. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 239-40.
- III 190. (a) 10, 30; (b) 33. For *ἔξ(ῆς)* read *ἔξ (ἄν)*. P. J. Sijpesteijn, P. Mich. XV 740. 18 n.
- O. Fay. 21.3. For *κάκ(κον)* ἄ read *καρ(ώνη)* ἄ. C. Gallazzi.
- P. Fay. 243 verso (description). Edition by L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 51-5; Taf. IIa.
- P. Hib. II 186. J. S. Rusten, *HSCP* 84 (1980) 339.
- P. Tebt. I 8. T. C. Skeat, *BASP* 18 (1981) 141-4.
- II 543 (description). Edition by R. Pintaudi, *Aegyptus* 72 (1982) 162-4; pl. opp. p. 162.
- 560 (description). Edition by R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 265-6; Taf. XVc.
- P. Turner 12. F. Montanari, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 21-4.

I. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

3601. DECLARATION TO AN ACTING STRATEGUS

43 5B.69/B(1-3)a

13 × 36 cm

29 October or 16 November 202

An Oxyrhynchite woman, daughter of a citizen who had served as strategus of the Small Diopolite nome, sent this declaration to the acting strategus of her own district to prove that her father had, contrary to what was alleged, duly handed on the official papers of his term of office to his successor. Probably the father was dead, though she did not explain why he did not write himself. His name, Hierax son of Dionysius, and that of his successor, Apollonius, are additions to the list of the strategi of the Small Diopolite nome. Both were out of office by 3 August 195, which is the date of the letter quoted as proof of the due transmission of the papers. It is quite possible that IV 708 (= *W. Chr.* 432), which contains texts of two letters sent to an unnamed strategus of this nome in 188, relates to Hierax. It may, therefore, give us one date in his term of office, 27 October 188.

The allegation, which had seemingly been refuted in 195, arose again at a review of the administrative affairs (*διαλογισμός*) of the Oxyrhynchite nome held by the prefect of Egypt Maecius Laetus in 202, and was embodied in a report to or by the acting eclogistes of the nome. This report was 'sent up', *εἶδος ἀναπεμφθέν*, which probably means that it was sent upstream from Alexandria, where the eclogistae normally functioned, to the acting strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, who then probably instructed the daughter of Hierax to enter a defence to the allegation or to pay the fine for negligence of this kind, see 33 n.

The writer of the letter cited as proof of the transmission of the records was a *procurator usiacus*, Alpheius, previously unknown, who was in office on 3 August 195, but out of office by the date of this declaration, 29 October or 16 November 202. He may be identical with a procurator named in an inscription from Sparta, see 15 n.

The recipient of the declaration looks likely to have been the Ammonianus who was royal scribe and acting strategus on 27 March 199 (XII 1473 20, 23) and on 22 May 199 (VI 899 34, 36), although a full strategus, Diophanes, intervenes, see J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 177. He was here represented by a deputy of his own, named Ptolemy.

The back is blank.

Ἀμ]μωναίω βασιλ(ικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ) δια[δεχ(ομένω) τὴν στρ(ατηγίαν)
 διὰ Πτολεμαί[ο]υ διαδόχ[ο]υ c. 10 letters
 πα]ρ[ἀ . . .], ια[.], c τῆς [κ]αὶ Ἱερακιάνης θ[υ]γατρὸς Ἱερακος
 γε]νομέν[ο]υ στρα[τ]η[γοῦ] Δ[ι]οπολίτου Μι[κ]ροῦ
 5 Θηβ[α]ῖδος. πρὸς εἶδος ἀναπεμφθὲν ὑπὸ
 τοῦ διέποντο[ς] τὴν ἐγλογιστίαν τοῦ γ[ο]μ[οῦ] ἀπὸ
 διαλογισμοῦ Μακίου Λαίτου τρ[ὶ] λα]μ-
 προτάτου ἡγεμόνος περί τινων [ἔστρα-
 τηγ[η]κότων ὡς μὴ μεταβαλομ[ένων]
 10 τὰ ἐγβατικά βιβλία, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς πα-
 τὴρ Ἱεραξ Διονυσίου στρατηγῆσας
 τοῦ Διοπολείτου, δηλῶ τὰ τῆς τάξεως
 βιβλία μεταβελῆσθαι τῶ μετ' αὐτὸν [στ]ρα-
 τηγῆσαντι ἀκολουθῶς τῇ γραφεΐσῃ
 15 ἐπιστολῇ ὑπὸ Ἀλφειοῦ τρ[ὶ] κρατίστου γενομέ-
 νου ἐπιτρόπου τῶν οὐσιακῶν ἐξ[.] γτ[
] ἥς ἐστιν ἀντίγραφον (vac.)
 Ἀλφειοῦ στρατηγῶ Ὀξυρυχ[ίτου]
 τῆς γρα[φ]εῖ[ς] μοι ἐπιστολῆ[ς] . [.
 20 . [.]ων Ἱερακος στρατηγῆ[σαντος] τοῦ
 Διοπολίτου Μικροῦ Θηβ[α]ῖδος τοῦ
 ἀντίγρ(αφον) πεμφθ[ῆ]ναί σοι ἐκέλ[ευσα]
 ὅπως, ἐ[π]εὶ παρέθετο [γ]ράμματα
 τοῦ μετὰ τὸν Ἱερακα στρατηγῆσα[ν]-
 25 τος Ἀπολλωνίου ὁμολογούντος
 τὰ βιβλία τῆς τάξεως μετελιη-
 φέναι, φροντίσῃς μηδὲν κεν[ί]-
 ζεσθαι περὶ τὰς προσόδους αὐ-
 τῶν ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐπιστα-
 30 λέντων. (vac.) ἐρρώσθαι εἰ εὐχόμεαι.
 (ἔτους) γ' Μεσορῆ ι'. (vac.)
 (vac.) ἔως τούτου ἢ ἐπιστολ(ῆ). ἢ ὄν εἰδῆς

1 βασιλγς	3 Ἱερακιάνης	4 Διοπολίτου	5 Θηβ[α]ῖδος	6 Διολογιστίαν
10 Διοπολείτου	11 Ἱεραξ	12 Διοπολίτου	15 ὑπο	20 Ἱερακος
Μικροῦ	22 ἀντιγρς	24 Ἱερακα	27 Διοπολίτου	32 ἐπιστὸ

καὶ τῶ μεταδοθέντι εἶδει αὐτὰ ταῦ-
 34 τα παραθῆ, φανερόν σοι ποιῶ.
 (m. 2) (ἔτους) ια Αὐτοκρ[α]τόρων Καيسάρων Λουκίου
 Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Περτινακος
 Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβητικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μείστου
 καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνί[νο]υ Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστῶν
 40 καὶ Πουβλίου Σεπτιμίου Γέτα Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,
 Ἀθῦρ β'.
 35 L^α

'To Ammonianus royal scribe administering the office of the strategus, through Ptolemy his deputy, from . . . alias Hieraciaena, daughter of Hierax former strategus of the Small Diopolite nome of the Thebaid.

'In response to a report sent up by the acting eclogistes of the nome as a result of the administrative review of Maecius Laetus, the most glorious prefect, concerning certain former strategi alleged not to have passed on their records on leaving office, among whom was my father Hierax son of Dionysius, former strategus of the Diopolite nome, I declare that the records of the office were passed on to the person who served as strategus after him according to the letter written by Alpheus, *vir egregius*, former *procurator usiacus*, . . . , of which this is a copy.'

'Alpheus to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. I have ordered the copy of the letter written to me (by our colleague?) Hierax former strategus of the Small Diopolite nome of the Thebaid to be sent to you so that, since he annexed a letter of Apollonius, who served as strategus after Hierax and acknowledges that he has taken over the records of the office, you may see to it that no new steps are taken in regard to their revenues as a result of the previous official communications. I pray for your health. Year 3, Mesore 10.'

'Thus far the letter. For your information, therefore, and so that you may add these same matters to the report that was delivered (to me), I make this declaration to you.'

(2nd hand) 'Year 11 of Imperatores Caesares Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augusti, and Publius Septimius Geta Caesar Augustus, Hathyr 2 (or 20?).'

2 The end of the line was probably blank, cf. e.g. XVII 2113 2; 2114 2.

3 The first name may have been *Σαραπίδιδος*.

4 *Μικροῦ*. Cf. 21. The trace appears to be the top of an upright without a ligature and therefore most suitable for kappa. The writing must have been very compressed; or alternatively the kappa may have been raised to indicate abbreviation, i.e. *Μικ** or *Μει**.

5 *εἶδος ἀναπεμφθὲν*. See introd. para. 2, and N. Lewis, *BASP* 18 (1981) 126-8. Another papyrus referring to *εἶδη* connected with the *διαλογισμὸς* of 202 was published by J. Mathwich, *ZPE* 15 (1974) 69-78, cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scripturae Posteriorae* ii 697-8.

7 *διαλογισμοῦ*. There is an implication that Maecius Laetus reviewed the matters concerned here shortly before the date of the document, 29 October or 16 November. This does not correspond well with the dates of the so-called *conventus*, the tours of inspection by prefects which took place usually in the period December to April, see G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo*; I. *L'organizzazione del 'conventus'* 52-78, 204-12. We should therefore hesitate to translate *διαλογισμὸς* with *conventus*, as is usually done. For the disappearance of the use of the word in this sense about the end of the second century, see *ibid.* 165-7.

Λαίτου. Cf. *ZPE* 17 (1975) 304; 38 (1980) 85. Add XLVII 3340, 3343. The date of 3601 falls inside his known term of office.

10 *ἐγβατικά* (= *ἐκβατικά*). For *εγβ* = *εκβ* cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 175. The word *ἐκβατικός* does not appear in LSJ or Suppl., though the formation is normal. It presumably refers to departure from office, at which time Hierax had handed his official records over to his successor, see 23-7.

15 *Ἀλφειοῦ*. Presumably this is the Greek name *Ἀλφειός* and not the Roman *Alfius*, since an official is normally referred to by *cognomen*, not by *nomen*, if only one name is employed. The Greek name is also more suited to the indications that the *procurator usiacus* was usually a freedman, see XLIII 3089 6n.

There is a strong possibility that this man is to be identified with the *procurator Augustorum*, Aurelius Alpheius, who figures in an honorific inscription from Sparta (*CIG* I 1328 = *IG* V i 546; *Ἀλφειοῦ* inscr.: Alpheius *PIR*² i 194 (A 1201); Alfius *PIR*² i 294 (A 1442), wrongly). The argument given in *IG* V i plausibly sets the date of the inscription before 212; the *terminus post quem* would then be the date of Caracalla's appointment as Augustus, 198. H.-G. Pflaum, *Les Carrrières* iii 1071, gives the limits as 198 and 209 without argument.

16–17 What springs to mind is ἐξ [δ]η[ρ][-] [ἰ]γ[ρά]φου, but the grammar is then sufficiently odd to raise doubt. The meaning would be that the text of the letter of Alpheius is not taken from the original but from a copy. Easier would have been ἐξ ἀντιγράφου ὃ ἐστιν ἀντίγραφον ἢ ἐστιν ἀντιγράφων ἐξ ἀντιγράφου. For the last three words cf. XXXI 2558 1a.

Alternatively the syntax would not be disturbed by a second title for Alpheius, on the lines of ἐξ [δ]η[ρ][-] [ἰ]γ[ρά]φου [χ]ειρέων, which is not, however, attested; cf. XLII 3026 19.

19–20 Most probably the writer of the letter to Alpheius was Hierax himself. The argument is as follows. Since *παρέθετο* (23), though somewhat damaged, is virtually certain, and since the subject of it is the writer of the letter to Alpheius, ὑπὸ κληρονόμων, or the like, is excluded, and if the writer was not Hierax, there hardly appears to be room to specify who was and also to say that the letter was about Hierax, e.g. *περὶ πραγμάτων Τέρακος*. The best stopgap might be ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελ(φῶν) [ἡ]μ[ῶ]ν, 'by our colleague'.

21 For the nome see *JEA* 50 (1964) 141–3. A search of the recent *Sammelbuch* indexes allows us to add to the references on p. 141 (n. 4) at least P. Med. II 25a (= SB VIII 9857 A). 4, which, if rightly dated from the hand, carries the attestations of the Small Diopolite nome back from 74 BC (SB V 8666) into the third century BC, while 3601 carries them forward from the reign of Vespasian (BGU III 981) to AD 202. Add also XLVII 3362 (= SB XII 11045). 6–7 (ii AD).

31 The date is equivalent to 3 August 195, see also introd., para. 1.

33 It is not entirely certain what *μεταδοθέντι* means here, but the verb is regularly used of the service of summonses, which included copies of the documents originating the action. Probably, therefore, the document was sent up (*ἀναπεμφθέν* 5, cf. introd., para. 2) from Alexandria to Oxyrhynchus, where the acting strategus embodied a copy of it in the summons sent to the daughter of Hierax. The penalty for not filing official papers properly was a fine, cf. I 57, 61 (with BL I 312–13).

40 Ἄθῆρ β̄. The traces, though meagre, are enough to make it certain that the month is not Mecheir, the only other ending in rhō. The figure is virtually undamaged, but is of the ambiguous cursive form which is often indistinguishable from a cursive kappa. The date is therefore equivalent to 29 October or 16 November 202.

3602–3605. UNDERTAKINGS ON OATH

The evidence which the papyri offer for imperial visits to Egypt has been collected conveniently, and discussed in connection with other evidence for imperial journeys, in F. G. B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 28–40, esp. 34–5. These four documents are sworn undertakings to assist in the public duty of supplying donkeys in connection with Caracalla's infamous visit to Egypt. It may be that we should deduce from one of them that Caracalla had not yet reached Pelusium on the Egyptian border by late November 215, somewhat later than is usually supposed, but there are various considerations which prevent us from regarding this as certain, see 3602 9n.

The documents were drawn up not in the Oxyrhynchite but in the Arsinoite nome, as appears from the mention of the village of Cynopolis, see 3602 23 n. They are of a type which is usually addressed to the strategus of the nome, see E. Seidl, *Der Eid* i 79–80. Unfortunately the tops are missing, but there is a probability that they were addressed to Aurelius Calpurnius Isidorus alias Harpocraton as strategus of the departments of Themistes and Polemon in the Arsinoite nome, since we have other papers from his term in this office, namely XLV 3243 (without Aurelius; late 214?) and 3263 (with Aurelius;

shortly after 29 August 215). The inventory number of 3243, which is 14 1B.202/L(b), indicates that it was found in close proximity to 3602–5. Calpurnius Isidorus also served as strategus of the Memphite nome, probably early in the sole reign of Caracalla, see XXXVIII 2876 14–16n. He can be presumed to have been an Oxyrhynchite who brought home some of his official papers, like his predecessor in the same strategiate of the Arsinoite, Sarapion alias Apollonianus, cf. *Aegyptus* 49 (1969) 149–50.

All the backs are blank, except for some flecks which are probably offsets or stray ink.

3602

14 1B.202/L(c)

10 × 19 cm

24 November 215

.....]. [
 ὀμνύω τὴν Μάρκο[υ Αὐρηλίου Σεούρου
 Ἀντωνίνου Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου
 Βρετανικοῦ Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ
 5 Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ
 κυρίου τύχην συνπαραλαβῆν
 καὶ συνπαραδοῦναι τοῖς αἰρεθεῖσι
 ἄρχουσι τὰ πεμπόμενα κτήνη
 εἰς Πηλοῦσιον πρὸς τὴν εὐκταίω
 10 γεινομένην ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ κυρίου
 ἡμῶν καὶ θεῶν ἐμφανεστάτου
 Ἀντωνίνου ἢ ἔνοχος εἶην
 τῷ ὄρκῳ. παρὼν δὲ Αὐρήλιος
 Ἑρμίας Μύστου τοῦ Πετενούφεως'
 15 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης ἐγνωᾶται
 τὸν Αὐρήλιον Ὀνωφριν ἐπὶ
 πᾶσι τοῖς προκειμένοις. ἐγρ(άφη) ἐπακολ(ουθοῦντος)
 Αὐρηλίου Μαμερτίνου τοῦ καὶ Πτολ(εμαίου)
 ὑπηρέτου.
 20 Α(ὐρήλιος) Ὀνωφρις ὡς (ἐτῶν) λβ οὐλ(ῆ)
 ὑπὸ γόνυ ἀριστ(ερόν).
 (vac.)

6 l. συμπαραλαβῆν 7 l. συμπαραδοῦναι 10 l. γεινομένην 14 l. Μύστου; cf. 22
 15 l. ἐγνωᾶται 17 εγρσετακό 18 πτδ 20 α', ως λβ οὐλ 21 αριστ'

/ (m. 2) *Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμίας Μύσθου τοῦ Πετενο(ύφωος)*
ἀπὸ κώμης Κυνῶν πάλεως ἐγγυῶμαι
*τῶν Αὐρήλιον Ὀννόφριν *Καραπίωνος**
 25 *ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προκείμενοις.*
 (m. 1) *(ἕτους) κδ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου*
Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου Παρθικοῦ
Μεγίστου Βρεταννικοῦ Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου
Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, Αἰθὺρ κζ.

22 *πετενο?* 23 *l. ἐγγυῶμαι* 24 *l. τόν, Ὀννόφριν* 25 *l. προκείμενοις* 26 *l. κδ*

'... I swear by the fortune of Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus, the lord, to assist the selected magistrates in receiving and delivering the animals being sent to Pelusium for the visit, which is taking place in answer to our prayers, of our lord and most manifest of gods Antoninus, or may I be liable to the penalty of the oath. Being present, Aurelius Hermias son of Mysthes, grandson of Petenuphis, from the same village, guarantees Aurelius Onnophris upon all the conditions aforesaid. Written under the supervision of Aurelius Mamertinus alias Ptolemaeus, assistant.

'Aurelius Onnophris, about 32 years old; distinguishing mark below the left knee.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Hermias son of Mysthes, grandson of Petenuphis, from the village of Cynopolis, guarantee Aurelius Onnophris son of Sarapion upon all the conditions aforesaid.'

(1st hand) 'Year 24 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus, Hathyr 27.'

9 *Πηλοσίον*. There was a village of this name in the department of Themistes, see P. Tebt. II, p. 395, which fell inside the same strategiate as the village of Cynopolis, see below 23 n. Nevertheless, it seems more likely that the place meant was the well-known city, cf. XLIII 3090, in which the cattle were to have gone to Alexandria. If this is correct, there is an implication that Caracalla was still expected on the north-east frontier of Egypt at the date of this document, 24 November 215. However, even if the city were certainly meant, the deduction could not be taken as certain, since there might possibly have been a need for baggage animals at Pelusium in connection with the visit even after Caracalla himself had gone on to Alexandria. Unfortunately, firm dates for Caracalla's visit are lacking, see *Ét. Pap.* 7 (1940) 31-2, though we know that he was back at Antioch by 27 May 216 (*SEG* xviii 759). The *responsum* of Caracalla published in Alexandria in January 216 (P. Flor. III 282. 8) may well have been posted in the course of his visit, if the tentative deduction made above is correct, cf. *Ét. Pap.* 7 (1940) 32 n. 1. The interpretations suggested in that note tend to set Caracalla's presence in Alexandria at a slightly earlier date. On P. Strasb. 245, which presents another problem connected with Caracalla's visit, see J. E. G. Whitehorne, *CE* 57 (1982) 132-5, cf. 3603 11-12 n.

ἐκτασις. The writing is extremely rapid. Because *αι* seems relatively clear, this word has been preferred to *εὐτυχός*. See also *εὐκτασιότατην* in 3603 11-12, 3604 11, and 3605 4.

11 *θεῶν ἐμφανέστατος*. Cf. XXXVI 2754 4 (Trajan). Correct P. Yale inv. 1394 verso i 2-3 to *θεῶν* [v] (instead of *θεῶ[ς]*) *ἐμφανέστατος* (Hadrian), see *ZPE* 13 (1974) 23.

14 *Μύσθου = Μύσθου*, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 86-7, cf. 64(7).

Πετενοῦφε 'φς'. The superscript writing is very confused. It looks somewhat like a monogram with sigma and omega imposed one on the other, but there is also an unexplained upright. The name is common.

17-19 *ἐπακο(ουθούνοτος) . . . ὑπηρέτου*. Cf. *JJP* 11-12 (1957-8) 141-66, esp. 163-6. Presumably the assistant served the strategus, as so often. The addressee was probably a strategus, see introd. The same assistant appears in 3604 20-1, 3605 13-14, a different one in 3603 22-3.

22 There is a short oblique stroke running up from the left to the top of the first letter. Probably the clerk marked in this way the point where the guarantor was to place his subscription. Probably there would have been another copy with a subscription by, or on behalf of, the declarer himself.

23 *κώμης Κυνῶν πάλεως*. This village was in the department of Polemon, see P. Tebt. II, p. 385. See introd. for the connection between this location and the conjectured identity of the addressee.

3603

14 1B.202/L(d)

10 × 19 cm

24 November 215

κ. [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . [c. 15 letters
ἀθροῖσαι καὶ κατα[στῆσαι τὰ ἐπιβλη-
θέν[τ]α τῇ κώμῃ κτή[νη] ἅμα τοῖς ἐξ ἀρ-
χόντων αἰρεθείς[ι] ὁμύω τῆν

5 *Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεο[υήρου Ἀντωνίνου*
Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Β[ρεταννικοῦ Μεγίστου
Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου [Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ
τοῦ κυρίου τύχη[ν] συναθροῖσαι καὶ συγ-
καταστῆσαι κα. . . [c. 10 letters τὰ ἐπι-
 10 *βληθέντα τῇ κώμῃ [κτῆμη] c. 5 letters*
ᾄσον ἐὰν κελευθῶ ἰς τὴν εὐκ[τ]αρο[τά-
την πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ
κυρίου ἡμῶν ἀηττήτου Αὐτοκράτορος
Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνίνου
 15 *Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ ἰς τὸ ἐν*
μηδενὶ μεμψθῆναι—παρὼν δὲ Αὐρήλιος
Ἀγχορίμφις μητρὸς Τερμούθωος
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ὄμοσα τὸν
προκείμενον ὄρκον ἐγγυώμενος
 20 *τὸν προκείμενον Ἀκῆν ἐπὶ τοῖς προκι-*
μένοις πᾶσι—ἡ ἔνοχοι ἤμεν τῷ ὄρκῳ.
ἐγράφη ἐπακολουθούτος Αὐρηλίου
Ἀχιλλὰ ὑπηρέτου.

(vac.)

Αὐρήλιου Ἀκῆς ὡς (ἐτῶν) νε οὐλ(ῆ)

25 *δακ(τύλιω) μ(ικρῶ) χει(ρὸς) δεξ(ιᾶς).*

Νεῖλος ὡς (ἐτῶν) ν οὐλ(ῆ) ἀντικ(νημίω) ἀριστ(ερῶ).

11 *l. εἰς*
 24 *l. νεοῦ*

15 *l. εἰς*
 25 *δακμ. χεῖδεξ'*

19, 20 *l. προκείμενον*
 26 *l. νοθαντικαριστ'*

20-1 *l. προκείμενοις*

21 *l. εἴημεν*

(ἔτους) κδ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου
 Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἄντωνίνου
 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Βρετανικοῦ Μεγίστου
 30 Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ,
 Ἀθῦρ κζ.

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἄν.

27 L κδ'

'... (having been appointed?) to collect and present the animals assigned to the village along with persons selected from the magistrates I swear by the fortune of Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus, the lord, to assist in collecting and presenting... the animals assigned to the village... wherever I may be ordered, for the visit, which is the answer to the dearest prayers of us all, of our lord the unconquered Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, so as to incur no blame in any respect—being present, I, Aurelius Anchorimphus, mother Termuthis, from the same village, swore the oath aforesaid, guaranteeing the aforesaid Aces upon all the conditions aforesaid—or may we be liable to the penalty of the oath. Written under the supervision of Aurelius Achilles, assistant.

'Aurelius Aces, about 55 years old; distinguishing mark (. . . ?) on the little finger of the right hand.

'Neilus, about 50 years old; distinguishing mark on the left shin.

'Year 24 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus, Hathyr 27.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Anchorimphus (?) . . .'

9 καζ' [οἱ κατα] would suit the remains. The other items offer no parallel.

11–12 This passage provides some more support for the suggestion of J. E. G. Whitehorne, *CE* 57 (1982) 134, that we should restore P. Strasb. 245. 10–12 as πρ]ός τήν [εὐκραιο]τάτην [ἡμῶν ἀνο]δον rather than π. τ. [εὐτυχες]τάτην [ἐπ'ἀνο]δον, which implies that Caracalla intended to pay yet another visit to Egypt.

15 *Εὐτυχοῦς. Felix* seems rather intrusive here, since it does not appear in any of the other versions of the titulare found in this group of documents. It does occur elsewhere among Caracalla's titles for the last years of his reign, see P. Bureth, *Titulares* 103–5, but its use is infrequent and seemingly inconsistent.

24 The rapid writing at the end of the line is puzzling, because nothing is expected between οὐλ(ή) and δακ(τύλω), see Alessandra Caldara, 'I connotati personali nei documenti d'Epigra dell'età greca e romana', *Studi della Scuola papirologica* (Milan, 1924–6) iv 2. 123–4. Possibly it should be read as {δακ'μ.}, i.e. substantially the same as the beginning of 25, but less carefully written. A similar problem arises in 3604 22–3, see n.

32 Evidently this is the subscription of the guarantor named in 16–17, cf. 3602 22–5. The name may have been spelt Ἀνχερίμφης, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 289–90 (ε for ο), 270 (υ for ι). No decipherment of what follows has been made. It seems short if this is the last line, cf. 3602 22–5. The foot is irregular enough to allow the possibility that 32 was not the last line, but not much can have been lost.

3604

14 1B.202/1.(e)

9.5 × 19 cm

27 November 215

α[
 ἀπό κώ(μης) . ε. [
 ε. . . ονων ὀμνύω [τὴν Μάρκου
 Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου [Ἄντωνίνου
 5 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Βρε[τανικοῦ
 Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ [Μεγίστου
 Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ τ[ύχην ἅμα τοῖς
 ἐξ ἀρχόντων α[ἰρεθεῖσι
 εἰς τοῦτο συνεξελέσθαι καὶ συγ-
 10 καταστήσαι ὄνους πεμπομ(ένους) εἰς
 τὴν εὐκταιοτάτην ἐπιδημ(ίαν)
 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος
 Σεουήρου Ἄντωνίνου, οὗς καὶ
 ἀποκαταστήσω καὶ παραδώσω
 15 εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθ(ῆναι) ἢ ἐνοχος
 εἶην τῷ ὄρκω. παρέσχον δὲ
 ἐγγυητὴν εἰς τοῦτο Αὐρήλιο(ν)
 Πωλίωνα Α. τρος ἀπό (τῆς)
 α(ὕτης) κώ(μης) παρόντ[α] κ[α] εὐδοκ(οῦντα)
 20 ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προκ(ειμένοις). ἐργ(άφη) ἐ(πακολουθοῦντος) Α(ὐρηλίου) Μαμερτί-
 νου τοῦ καὶ Πτολεμ(αίου) ὑ(πηρέτου). καὶ εἰς
 Α(ὐρήλιοι) Πακλῆς (ἐτών) μ οὐ(λή)
 ἀντικ(νημῶ) δεξ(ιῶ),
 Πωλίων (ἐτών) με οὐ(λή) ἀν(τικνημῶ) ἀριστ(ερῶ).
 25 (ἔτους) κδ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἄντωνίνου
 Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου Βρετανικοῦ Μεγίστου Γερμανικοῦ
 Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, Ἀθῦρ λ'.

2 κω[]; cf. 19 9–10 l. συγκαταστήσαι 10 πεμπομ^ε 11 ἐπιδημ^ε 14 l. παραδώσω
 15 μεμφθ^θ 17 l. ἐγγυητήν 19 ἀκώ, εὐδοκ^ε 20 προ*εργ(ε)α^ε 21 πτολεμ^ε
 22 α', L (μ ου) 23 ἀντι*δεξ' 24 L με ου)αγ'αριστ^ε 25 L κδ'

'... from the village of... (having been placed in charge of donkeys?) I swear by the fortune of Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus to assist the persons selected from among the magistrates for the purpose in picking out and presenting donkeys being sent for the visit, which is the answer to our dearest prayers, of our lord Emperor Severus Antoninus. These I shall return and deliver so as to incur no blame in any respect, or may I be liable to the penalty of the oath. I have presented as guarantor for this purpose Aurelius Pollio son of L... from the same village, who is present and consenting upon all the conditions aforesaid. Written under the supervision of Aurelius Mamertinus alias Ptolemaeus, assistant. And they are:

¹ Aurelius Paclēs, 40 years old; distinguishing mark... right shin.

² Aurelius Pollio, 45 years old; distinguishing mark on the left shin(?).

³ Year 24 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus, Hathyr 30.'

² Read perhaps Θεο[δελφείας]. This was in the department of Themistes, see P. Tebt. II, p. 379, and therefore in the appropriate strategiate, cf. *Intro.* and 3602 9, 23 nn.

³ Read perhaps ἐπὶ ὄνων, 'in charge of donkeys', which might have been preceded by a participle meaning 'having been appointed', e.g. *κατασταθείς*.

⁷ Perhaps omit the preposition from the restoration, cf. 3602 7. In 3603 3 a preposition is needed, because the verbs are simple, not compounds of σύν. In 3605 1-2 τῶν ἐξ [ἀρχόντων αἰρε]θέντων implies that μετ[ά] precedes.

²²⁻³ Nothing seems to be required between οὐ(λή) and ἀντικ(νημίω), see Caldara, *op. cit.* (3603 24 n.), 126-7.

3605

14 1B.202/L(f)

10.5 × 18.5 cm

27 November 215

... [.] τῶν ἐξ [ἀρχόντων αἰρε-
θέντων συνεξ]ελέσθαι καὶ συγκата-
στήσαι ὄνουσ προεπιμένουσ εἰς τὴν
εὐκταιοτάτ[ην ἐπιδημίαν τοῦ κυρίου
5 ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Σεουήρου
Ἀντωνείνου, οὗ καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω
καὶ] παραδώσω εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμ-
φθῆναι ἢ ἐνοχος εἶην [τῷ ὄρκω.
παρέχων δὲ ἑμαυτοῦ εἰς τοῦτο ἐ[γ-
10 γνητῆν Αὐρήλιον Πελάριον ... [..
τεως { } α... [..].. παρόντα καὶ εὐ-
δοκοῦντα ἐπὶ πάσι τοῖς προκειμένοις.
ἐγρ(άφη) ἐπακολ(ουθούντος) Αὐρηλίου Μαρμερτείνου τρυ[καὶ
Πτολεμαίου υἱ(πρήτου). καὶ εἰςιν Αὐρήλιοι

6 1. Ἀντωνίου

13 εγρ(ε)πακὸ

14 υ)

15 Βελλῆς ὡς (ἐτῶν) . . οὐλ(ῆ) ἀντι. () ἀριςτ(ερ-),
Πελάριος ὡς (ἐτῶν) νε οὐλ(ῆ) ἀντίχ(ρι) ἀριςτ(ερῶ).
(ἔτους) κδ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου
Α[ὐ]ρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀντωνείνου Παρ[θ]ικ(οῦ)
Μεγίστου Βρετανικ(οῦ) Μεγίστου
20 Γερμανικ(οῦ) Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς
Σεβαστοῦ, Ἀθύρ λ'.

15 ως L... οὐ ἀντι. ἀριςτ'

16 ως L νε οὐ, ἀριςτ'; 1. ἀντίχ(ρι) ἀριςτ'

17 L κδ

18 1. Ἀντωνίου

'... to assist, along with the persons selected from among the magistrates, in picking out and presenting donkeys being sent for the visit, which is the answer to our dearest prayers, of our lord Emperor Severus Antoninus. These I shall return and deliver so as to incur no blame in any respect, or may I be liable to the penalty of the oath. I have presented as guarantor of myself for this purpose Aurelius Peloris son of... from... who is present and consenting upon all the conditions aforesaid. Written under the supervision of Aurelius Mamertinus alias Ptolemaeus, assistant. And they are:

¹ Aurelius Belles, about... years old; distinguishing mark on the left shin(?).

² Aurelius Peloris, about 55 years old; distinguishing mark on the left thumb.

³ Year 24 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus Maximus Germanicus Maximus Pius Augustus, Hathyr 30.'

¹ The traces allow μετ[ά]. One other item had a preposition governing the dative, i.e. ἀμα or σύν, see 3603 3-4; in 3604 7-8 the endings are lost; in 3602 7-8 there is a dative depending on the συν- in the compound verbs.

¹⁰⁻¹¹ After the name we expect a patronymic, or μητρ(ε)ς, in full or abbreviated, with the name of the mother. Evidently -τεως is the end of this element. Then comes a short upright which looks like the abandoned beginning of an unwanted letter. Next must be ἀπὸ τῆ[ς α(ὐτῆς)] κ(ο)μ(η)ς, or some other version of the same words, cf. 3603 18, 3604 18-19, or ἀπό with a village name, cf. 3602 23.

¹⁵ Probably understand ἀντικ(νημίω) ἀριςτ(ερῶ), since ἀντίχ(ε)ρις is written in full in the next line.

3606. MUNICIPAL RECORD

48 5B.26/A(1-3)a

8.5 × 23 cm

c.230-5

The birthday of Severus Alexander, Phaophi 4 = 1 October, which was already known from the calendar of Philocalus (*CIL* I² pp. 255, 274), is mentioned here, and the document adds to the evidence on the prytaneis of Oxyrhynchus.

The top and the foot of the sheet are lost. Most of what was contained in the first two surviving lines is damaged and incomprehensible and there is a short endorsement along the fibres of the back, the purpose of which is uncertain (25). The rest of the document (2-24) comprises three virtually complete entries each introduced by a number, 8, 9, and 10, followed by a double curve and two oblique strokes, raised and rising to the right. These symbols are very often attached to numbers indicating regnal years and in some cases require actually to be expanded as (ἔτους) or some other case of ἔτος. If the numbers here do denote regnal years of Severus Alexander, they are equivalent to 228/9, 229/30, and 230/1.

After the numbers and symbols in the second and third entries comes the word *πρυτανείας* followed by the name of the prytanis in the genitive case. In the first entry, the day, Phaophi 4, intervenes (4); this is omitted in the second entry (17-18), and postponed till after the name of the prytanis in the third (22). In spite of these slight inconsistencies, this method of introducing the entries is very similar to that of P. Berol. inv. 11314, published by Z. Borkowski in *CE* 43 (1968) 326-31 and fig. 1, p. 327—so similar, in fact, that without changing the sense we may expand *πρυτ()* there in ll. 3, 6, 9, 12, and 15 to *πρυτ(αείας)* instead of *πρυτ(αείοντος?)*, as was tentatively suggested by the editor. Purely formal differences are that there no day is mentioned and the numbers are followed only by the double curve and not also by oblique strokes.

There the successive figures 3 to 7 were interpreted as denoting regnal years of Probus and the entries seem to record annual disbursements to two persons who drew and heated water for some baths. Each year was also designated by the name of the prytanis because, presumably, the disbursements were made from the funds of the town council.

In 3606 each entry continues with a reference to a column of some record of the town council (*κολλήματος α* 12, cf. 18; lost from 22), which is followed by a copy of a signed declaration in the form, 'I, So-and so, made the registration (*ἀπεγραψάμην*)'.

In spite of the obscurity of the details it appears that a registration of some kind had to be made each year on 1 October and recorded in a council record. It is most likely that this registration was connected with the commemoration of the emperor's birthday. Compare *W. Chr.* 41 iii 8-16, an entry from the official day-book of a strategus, which records that he attended celebrations in connection with Severus Alexander's birthday on 1 October 232. The festivities included a banquet (*ἐδωχθήθη* 15), attended also, it is suggested in the note, by the municipal office holders.

A difficulty immediately arises when we compare the names and dates in this document with the list of known prytaneis of the reign in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 131:

1	221/2	Gaius Calpurnius (Lucius?)	XLIV 3173
2	222/3	Aurelius Ammonius	I 77
8	228/9	Aurelius Theon alias Maximus	XLV 3244
14	234/5	Aurelius Pecyllus alias Theon	P. Osl. III 111

In 3606 we have:

8	228/9	Calpurnius Gaius
9	229/30	Aurelius Theon alias Maximus
10	230/1	Aurelius Pecyllus alias Theon

The office of prytanis was annual, see Bowman, *op. cit.* 61-5, but now we have two names for 228/9. The figures here are all clear to read and so is the year number in XLV

3244 27, which has been checked again from the original. We must suppose that the year began with Calpurnius Gaius in office and that he was replaced by Aurelius Theon alias Maximus, who continued to hold the post in the next year. The combined data produce the following list:

1	221/2	Gaius Calpurnius (Lucius?)	XLIV 3173
2	222/3	Aurelius Ammonius	I 77
8	228/9	Calpurnius Gaius (I. 10. 228)	3606
		Aurelius Theon alias Maximus	XLV 3244
		(3. 12. 228)	
9	229/30	Aurelius Theon alias Maximus	3606
10	230/1	Aurelius Pecyllus alias Theon	3606
14	234/5	Aurelius Pecyllus alias Theon	P. Osl. III 111

This fairly clear case of two persons serving as prytanis in a single year eases the difficulty raised by P. Flor. I 63, where Aurelius Apollonius alias Dionysius appears as prytanis in the fifth regnal year of an unnamed emperor. His known career would induce us to assign this year to Probus (279/80) or Aurelian (273/4), both years already occupied by other prytaneis, see the more detailed statement in *CE* 46 (1971) 153-4, and we may now feel more comfortable about accepting that there were two prytaneis in one of these years. See also N. Lewis, *BASP* 14 (1977) 155, No. 52, where it is pointed out that XLIV 3202, an invitation to the crowning of a prytanis in the middle of the Egyptian year, may mean that the man first appointed had for some reason to be replaced in the course of the year.

Since the formula of ll. 6-9 indicates that Severus Alexander was considered to be alive at the time of writing, the date of 3606 must fall between 1 October 230, mentioned in 20-2, and the time when news of the emperor's death reached Oxyrhynchus. His successor Maximinus was recognized in Rome by 25 March 235 (*CIL* VI 2001), but not yet in Oxyrhynchus on 3 May (PSI VI 733. 66-70). The news must have arrived soon after that and was known in the Arsinoite nome by 12 May, cf. X. Lorient, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 150.

-] . [. .] ξα[.
] φ . δω . ης''
 Φαῶφι δ' πρυτανεί-
 ας Καλπουρνίου Γαίου
 5 γενεθλίου οὔσης
 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
 Αὐτοκράτορος Μάρκου
 Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου
 Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος
 10 τοῦ κυρίου. ἔστι δέ
 οὔτως. (vac.)
 κολλήματος α'.
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀριστίων
 ἔναρχος ἀρχιερεὺς
 15 βουλευτῆς ἀπεγραψά-
 μην. (vac.)
 (m. 2) θς'' πρυτ[α]ρίας Θέωνος τοῦ
 καὶ Μαξίμου. κολλ(λήματος) δ'.
 Αὐρήλι(ος) Θέων γυμ(νασιάρχ-) βουλ(ευτῆς) ἀπεγρ(αψάμην).
 (vac.)
 20 (m. 1) ις'' πρυτανείας Πεκ[ύλ-
 λου τοῦ καὶ Θέωνος[ς
 Φαῶφι δ'. [κολλ(λήματος) . .
 Αὐρήλιος Θέ[ων γυμ(νασιάρχ-)
 βουλ(ευτῆς) ἀπεγρ(αψάμην).
 25 Back. (m. 3?)]ς βουλ(ευτ-)
 17 1. πρυτανείας 18 κδ 19 αὐρή, γ^ββοδαπεγρL 25 βοδ

' . . . 8th year, Phaophi 4, in the prytany of Calpurnius Gaius, being the birthday of our lord emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar, the lord, viz., as follows: Column 1: I, Aurelius Aristion, chief priest in office, councillor, made the registration.'

(2nd hand) '9th year, in the prytany of Theon alias Maximus: Column 4: I, Aurelius Theon, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor, made the registration.'

(1st hand) '10th year, in the prytany of Pecyllus alias Theon, Phaophi 4: Column n.: I, Aurelius Theon, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor, made the registration.'

1-2 Since the year-number is not at the beginning of a line and in other respects too the remains do not parallel the subsequent entries, it is probable that these two lines were part of a heading, which, properly interpreted, might have told us the nature of the document as a whole. It is therefore particularly unfortunate that they are so difficult to interpret.

In 1 the first trace is a mere dot;]ξα[calls to mind Ἀλεξάνδρου in 9, but this idea leads no further and countless other possibilities exist. In 2 the first group of traces consists of a ligature descending at a shallow angle to the middle of the roundel of phi, with a tiny spot of ink on the edge of the papyrus below the beginning of the ligature. After phi there are (1) traces of a vertical, (2) a narrow gap, (3) traces which may represent the top of a vertical cut at the mid-height level by a horizontal (1+3 = η?), (4) the top half of a vertical (ς?). Between this and the delta is the tail of xi from l. 1 above. After omega the most likely close seems to be nu or sigma. Neither is strongly suggested, but either would do as well as anything else. Perhaps something like (ἀπο-?) γρηφῆ (or -ῆ) βδων (= εἰδών), 'list (or registration?) of goods in kind (or documents?)'. This is not helpful, and it is not very likely to be a correct reading of the remains.

4 Καλπουρνίου Γαίου. Dr Bowman has suggested that Γαῖος Καλπουρνίος Ἀργ[κ]ίω (cognomen uncertain), prytanis in 22 1/2, see XLIV 3173 1 n., was the same as the L. Calpurnius Gaius who appears in XXXIV 2723 as prytanis in an unknown year of the third century and as the father of L. Calpurnius Firmus, a minor. Both Gaius and Lucius were used by Greek-speakers as personal names and could therefore become cognomina when bearers of them adopted the *tria nomina*. The identification, consequently, is not compelling. On the other hand, the repeated prytanies of Aurelius Theon alias Maximus and Aurelius Pecyllus alias Theon, see introd., show that there was no objection at this period to the office being held a second time with little or no interval.

Persons called Calpurnius Firmus appear in three undated papyri from Oxyrhynchus, PSI XII 1252 (Aurelius Calpurnius Firmus; year 2 of an emperor later than Caracalla), 1255 (Calpurnius Firmus), 1256 (L. Calpurnius Firmus), and in one dated to 225 but referring to a loan made previously to the city by a Calpurnius Firmus, XXXVIII 2848. It is not clear to me whether any of these is to be identified with the minor son of L. Calpurnius Gaius in 2723. The suggestion in 2848 introd. that the Calpurnius Firmus there might be related to two prefects of Egypt with the same cognomen but different nomina is utterly unconvincing, see also L 3564 1 n., where the relationships of yet more Calpurnii are considered.

12 κολλήματος α'. See N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 79-83, H. C. Youtie, *Scripturae* ii 718, 720, 722. Originally κόλλημα meant a sheet of papyrus glued into a roll and was distinguished from *κελίε*, the column of writing, which could easily run over the joins. The distinction was not maintained in the official language of the papyri, so that references of this sort may normally be taken to indicate column numbers, though they might also refer to the sheet numbers of a τόμος συγκολλημένος, i.e. a file of separate documents glued together into a roll.

13 Ἀριστίων. Since the next two registrations (19, 23-4) were made by Aurelius Theon, (ex-?) gymnasiarch and councillor, there is a possibility that Aristion and Theon should be identified with a father and son who appear in XXVII 2473 of 11 September 229. That document refers to a purchase of property, dated in Hathyr (28 October-26 November) 228, from Aurelius Theon gymnasiarch and councillor, son of Aristion former exegetes, grandson of Tiro. Here Aristion is described as 'chief priest in office'. This post did not occupy a fixed place in the municipal career, see F. Oertel, *Liturgie* 336. The title 'former exegetes' indicates the highest rank attained in that career. Unfortunately it is not clear whether the titles in 2473 relate to the date of that document, 229, or to the date of the purchase mentioned in it, 228. The Aristion here was clearly chief priest in office on 1 October 228.

17-19 This entry is in a smaller and more rapid hand than the rest. This, together with the abbreviations, suggests that it was written later and inserted into a rather inadequate space left for it. Perhaps there was, say, a roll for each year, and the roll for year 9 was not to hand when this document was being compiled, so that this entry had to be skipped over until the roll for year 9 was located or fetched.

19 γυμ(νασιάρχ-). It is not clear whether we should expand to γυμ(νασιάρχος) or γυμ(νασιάρχης). If the identifications suggested in 13 n. are right and the titles given in 2473 relate to AD 229/30, γυμ(νασιάρχος) is probably right here. The same abbreviation may well have occurred in the lost part of 23, which relates to the next year, 230/1. If so, it might be that there it should be expanded to γυμ(νασιάρχης).

20-1 Πεκ[ύλ]λου τοῦ καὶ Θέωνος[ς. See XLII 3048 13 and n.

²³ The restorations depend on the very likely, but not completely certain, assumption that Θε[is identical with the person in 19.

²⁵ The first trace is a curving descender, probably part of a mark of abbreviation in the normal form of a double curve. This may be another mention of Aurclius Theon γυμ[(vaciarχ-) βουλ(εστ-).

3607. COVERING LETTER FOR AN ACCESSION EDICT

9 RB.170/J(e)

6.5 x 15.5 cm

Before 13 June 238

The short reign of Gordians I and II is attested here, for only the third time in the papyri, cf. XLIII 3107 12-15 and n., P. Yale inv. 156 (in *AJP* 51 (1930) 62-6).

The text of 3607 is contained on a patch pasted on to a fragment of a roll. The recto of the roll has been used for an official-looking land register, full of abbreviations, among which areas measured in aruras are conspicuous, and the verso has farming accounts probably of a private nature, including payments to a vine-dresser and a cowherd. These texts on the fragment of roll, which measures c. 13 x 32.5 cm, are too damaged to repay transcription.

The patch was glued to the recto of the roll, over much of the original writing and upside down in relation to it. Very probably the register was old and damaged and the patch was stuck on to the roll to strengthen it before the farm-accounts were copied on to the back. On the patch the ends of about nineteen lines of practised official cursive survive. They are fairly legible except where they are badly abraded near the top edge of the text, which coincides with the bottom edge of the register on the recto. Of course the back of the patch is concealed and the papyrus is too fragile to allow it to be removed in safety.

Lines 7-19 contain the remains of an open letter from a deputy strategus, presumably of the Oxyrhynchite nome. As can be deduced from parallels, the letter was intended to accompany the publication of an edict relating to the celebration of an accession. The loss of the beginnings of the lines makes the detail of the interpretation difficult. Probably a joint accession is meant, but the text could be restored to refer to a separate accession of Gordian II later than his father's, see the reconstructions below.

It is very regrettable that no date survives to contribute something to the vexed chronology of this year. The two dates available from papyri of the reign are equivalent to 13 June (XLIII 3107 12-15) and 20 June (P. Yale inv. 156, in *AJP* 51 (1930) 62-6). This letter must have antedated the first of these, probably not by very long. See *ZPE* 9 (1972) 1-19 for the papyrological aspects of the chronology of the year, and for the latest bibliography of the whole question see H. Temporini, W. Haase, *ANRW* ii 2. 720-2.

]...[
	]γ. . ντ. και [. . . εγγ[
	] (vac.) [
]...[.].....[
5	±? Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανού Ῥωμανοῦ Σεμπρ[ω]νιανού Ἀφρικαν[οῦ
	]. (vac.)
	δια]δεχομενο, τήν στρ[ατηγίαν]
	-οτ]άτου ἡγεμό[ν]ος περί τῆ[ε
	]ος Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορ-
10	διανού (Ῥωμανοῦ Σεμπρ[ω]νιανού Ἀφρικανοῦ?) ±?]του υἱοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶ[ν
	±? Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ Σ]εμπρ[ω]νιανού Ἀφρι-
	κανοῦ
	δε]δειγμένου διατάγμα-
	τος
	πρ]οτίθεται ἵνα
	] τῶν γενη[ο-
15	τάτων στρατιωτῶν
	]λεια καὶ εὐχομ[ε-
	Μάρκ]ου Ἀντωνίου
	Γορδιανοῦ (Ῥωμανοῦ Σεμπρ[ω]νιανοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ?) ±? Μάρκου Ἀντ[ω]νίου Γορδιανοῦ
	Ῥωμα-
	νοῦ Σεμπρ[ω]νιανοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ
	] ἄρδ[ι]ο]ν διαμονῆς
	]ν προειρημέ-

7 στρδ

It would be impossible to give a continuous translation without extensive restoration and no reliable restoration can be given where so much is lost. The completion of the titles in 16-17 requires forty-seven letters without bridging the gap between the lines, if, as is probable, there was yet another repetition of *Romanus Semprianus Africanus*. Certainly at least thirty-one letters are needed in 11.

However, it is possible from comparison with several other documents to envisage a skeleton outline of 8-19:

[τοῦ πεμφθέντος μοι (e.g. SB V 8444 i 1-2) ὑπὸ τοῦ . . .] . . . ἡγεμό[ν]ος περί τῆ[ε κρατήσεως (P. Amst. inv. 22. 2 and n., in *ZPE* 8 (1971) 190, 192) . . .] . . . Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδ[ι]ανοῦ . . . καὶ (?) τοῦ υἱοῦ . . . [. . . Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ . . .] . . . διατάγμα[τος] . . . ἀντίγραφον . . . πρ]οτίθεται ἵνα [. . . ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς τῆς ἱεράς συγκλήτου δόγμασι καὶ τῆ] τῶν γενη[οτάτων στρατιωτῶν χειροτονία (SB VI 9528. 2-5 with X 10295. 6-7) . . . ἐορτάζοντες ἐπὶ τῆ εὐτυχαστήν αὐτῶν(?) βασι]λείᾳ (W. Chr. 490. 11-12) καὶ εὐχομ[ενοι ὑπὲρ τῆς . . . Γορδιανοῦ . . . καὶ(?) . . . Γορδιανοῦ . . . νίκης καὶ] ἀρδ[ι]ο]ν διαμονῆς (XLIII 3116 8 and n., cf. W. Chr. 490. 21-2) . . . στεφανηφορήσωμεν ἡμέρας (ποσά: W. Chr. 490. 23-4) . . . 'A copy of the edict sent to me by the . . . prefect . . . about the accession . . . of Gordian I and (?) his son . . . Gordian II . . . is posted in public, so

that . . . in conformity with the decrees of the sacred senate and the vote of the most valiant soldiers . . . we, celebrating their(?) most auspicious reign and praying for the victory and eternal continuance of . . . Gordian I and(?) . . . Gordian II . . . may wear garlands for (so many) days . . .

Most of the parallels cited in the reconstruction were found with the help of the list of documents relating to accessions given by O. Montevecchi, 'L'ascesa al trono di Nerone', in M. Sordi (ed.), *I canali della propaganda nel mondo antico* 200-1. The details are open to question and variation, but there seems no doubt of the central hypothesis that this is a letter accompanying the publication of an edict of accession.

One of the possible variations might be important. The reconstruction supposes that both Gordians were proclaimed as co-emperors in Egypt at the same time, but it would be possible to restore the letter as proclaiming the accession of Gordian II only, i.e. *περὶ τῆς κρατήσεως . . . Γορδιανού . . . ε.γ. Σεβασ[τοῦ] (instead of καὶ τοῦ), υἱοῦ . . . Γορδιανού*, or, with the same sense, *περὶ τῆς κρατήσεως τοῦ τοῦ Γορδιανού Σεβαστοῦ υἱοῦ . . . Γορδιανού*. The best parallel would then be SB I 421, on the accession of Maximus Caesar, son of Maximinus Augustus.

Herodian tells us that Gordian I was forcibly proclaimed Augustus in Thysdrus by the rebels (vii 5, 7), whereas it was the senate which proclaimed Gordian II Augustus at the same time as it confirmed the accession of his father (vii 7, 2). We might reasonably expect the administrators of Egypt to follow instructions from Rome in these matters, but that they did not always do so is easily shown by the cases of Vespasian and Avidius Cassius. At the moment, however, it seems best to prefer the first reconstruction and assume that Egypt followed Rome in this case, unless any unambiguous evidence to the contrary emerges.

1-2 The blank in 3 suggests that 1-2 were at the end of a previous item, followed, perhaps, by a regnal-year date-clause in 4-6.

2 The traces suggest]γ φήγγε and traces and space may permit φεντεκα[δε]κα, which could be relevant to the celebration of fifteen days prescribed in *W. Chr.* 490. 23-4.

4-6 The blanks in 3 and 6 suggest that 4-6 contained some sort of separate unit and the titles in 5 suggest that it may have been a date-clause, cf. 1-2 n. On the other hand, the two date-clauses from the joint reign which survive differ only slightly and in spite of the abrasion of 4, where no letter can now be identified for certain, I should have expected to be able to recognize elements of the formula if it were there. Possibly 4 contained something different and the date-clause, if any, was confined to 5-6. If it was a date-clause, the last trace in 6 should be part of the figure for the day, i.e. between 1 and 30 inclusive. This trace suits]η best, though it is a far from certain reading. If it were certain that this was the day-letter and that 4-6 or 5-6 contained a date, it might be worth speculating whether this was Payni 18 (ι]η), or 8 (η), or Pachon 28 (κ]η), etc., but in these circumstances it would be useless.

7 δια]δεχομενο. The minute trace of the last letter is indeterminate. SB V 8444 i 1 suggests that the title stood in the nominative, but the genitive preceded by παρά might not be impossible.

The deputy strategus cannot be identified. A strategus called Flavius Harpocracion was serving by some time in Phaophi (28 September-27 October) 238, see XII 1433 33-4 with introd., and possibly also at some time in the preceding month of Thoth (29 August-27 September), cf. *ibid.* 2-3 (restored with the same name). The preceding strategus, Aurelius Leonides, was still serving sometime in 236/7 (XII 1405 14, PSI X 1121).

The deputy strategus would usually be the royal scribe, therefore βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς, *vel sim.*, may have filled part of the initial lacuna.

8 -στ]άτου: i.e. διασημ[ο]σ]άτου or λαμπροτ]άτου. ἡγεμ[ο]ν]ος. The prefect of 238 is not yet known, but this informs us that there was a prefect in office in mid-year.

12]δεξιμένον. Presumably restore ἀποδε]δεξιμένον, but we cannot be sure either which Gordian is referred to, see the alternative reconstructions offered above, or to which office he was designated. From Gordian III till Carinus every emperor was consul in the January following his accession, so that ὑπάτου ἀποδε]δεξιμένον is a possibility. If the word refers to Gordian II, Ἀὐτοκράτορος ἀποδε]δεξιμένον might be a possibility, like ἀποδεξιμένους Ἀὐτοκράτωρ in some titles of Caracalla as Caesar, cf. P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures* 95-6.

19]γ προειρημέ. Restore presumably τῆ]ν προειρημέ[λ]ων, τὸ]ν προειρημέ[λ]ων, or τῶ]ν προειρημέ[λ]ων, but it is not clear which of the 'aforesaid' matters is meant.

3608-3610

Of these papyri the first two contain date-clauses by Decius and Herennius without Hostilianus, while the third appears to have a date-clause by Trebonianus Gallus only, without either Hostilianus or Volusianus. Both types were unknown before. The study of them offers an opportunity to set out what chronological information the papyri have to give for the period from the deaths of the Philips to the accession of Volusianus, roughly from the second half of 249 to the second half of 251.

We may begin from a table of significant dates:

Item no.	Regnal year	Date	Reference
1	7 Philippi	Thoth 25 = 22 September 249	P. Harris 80. 39-41
2	1 Decius	Choeac 1 = 27 November 249	XIV 1636 39-41
3	2 Decius	no date = after 29 August 250	SB I 4651. 1-3
4	2 Decius and Herennius	Thoth 19 = 16 September 250	3608 1-7
5	2 Decius and Herennius	Phaophi 3 = 30 September 250	3609 11-15
6	2 Decius, Herennius, and Hostilianus	Phaophi 14 = 11 October 250	XXXVI 2795 30-8
7	2 Decius, Herennius, and Hostilianus	Epeiph 6 = 30 June 251	O. Bodl. II 1633. 1
8	1 Trebonianus Gallus and Hostilianus	Mesore 20 = 13 August 251	SB VI 9235. 1
9	1 Trebonianus Gallus alone?	no date = before 30 August 251	3610 6, 8
10	2 Trebonianus Gallus and Volusianus	Choeac 7 = 4 December 251	XIV 1554 11-16

From the numeration of his Egyptian years it is clear that the *dies imperii* of Decius fell after 28 August 249, the last day of the Egyptian year 248/9. The conclusion of M. Lorient in *ANRW* ii. 2. 788-97, where the papyrological evidence is also used, is that the death of Philip I cannot have fallen later than 11 September (p. 796). In Oxyrhynchus both Philips were still considered as living and ruling on 22 September, see item 1, but about thirty days is the conventional average allowance for news to reach Oxyrhynchus from Rome.

Contrary to what is imagined in *Chiron* 6 (1976) 428 there is no trace in the papyri of a sole rule of Philip II after his father's death. The fragmentary titlature of P. Lond. III 950 (description) is that of years 1-4 of the joint reign, when Philip II was still Caesar and not yet Augustus, as comparison of it with P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures* 114-15, clearly

shows. See now also H. A. Pohlsander, *Historia* 31 (1982) 214–22. However, the reading ascribed to J. W. Shumaker on p. 217 is impossible. For his

- 1 [ετος .] του ευ[σεβ]ους αυτο[κρατ]ορος κε[σαρος μαρκου]
2 ιουλιου φιλιππου γεννησοτατου[

read

- 1 ξτους δ[ευτέρ]ου Αύτο[κρά]τορος Κέ[σαρος (= Καίσαρος) Μάρκου Ίουλίου Φιλίππου
Εύσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Μάρκου
2 Ίουλίου Φιλίππου γεννησοτάτου (= γεννησοτάτου) [(καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου?) Καίσαρος
Κεβαστῶν μηνός month by two calendars, cf. SPP XX 71, day, ἐν
3 Ἐρμού πόλι (= πόλει) τῇ μεγάλῃ, ἀρχαίρα [κ]αὶ [λαμπρᾶ κτλ.

I am indebted to Dr R. A. Coles for identifying the remains of the delta of δ[ευτέρ]ου. The year, therefore, is 244/5. The reading ξ[βδόμ]ου, implied in P. Lond. III, has recently been reaffirmed by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 49 (1982) 102, no. 16, but is impossible, because the younger Philip was Augustus, not Caesar, in that year. The honorific titles of Philip junior are not fixed. If the day number was written out in full and was something long, e.g. τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτη, the titulature may not have included καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου, see Breth, loc. cit.

Phaophi (September/October) of 1 Decius is attested retrospectively in SB I 4651 (with BL V 93), but the earliest surviving contemporary date-clause by Decius is item 2 above of 27 November 249. If M. Lorient is right, we may expect in the future to find earlier examples to fill the interval now existing between Decius and the Philips.

There follows a series of normal date-clauses by the first year of Decius alone which it has not seemed necessary to list. The next change is the accession of Herennius, which is specifically recorded by two of the new papyri, items 4 and 5 above, of 16 and 30 September 250. These fall in year 2 of Decius and Herennius. It may be, however, that there are traces of the arrival of the news of the accession of Herennius in year 1, that is, before 29 August 250. The evidence consists of two retrospective references to 249/50 as a (ξτος) Δεκίων in documents of some twenty years later (XL 2913 ii 8–9; PSI V 457. 15). This form may be authentic, but it cannot be relied on, because it is possible that it has been affected by later formulae. The one clause from the second year of the sole rule of Decius, item 3 above, comes from Cysis in the Theban Oasis, one of the last spots in Egypt to which the news of an accession would penetrate. No day survives; it must have been after 28 August, the last day of year 1. The last example of dating by year 1 of Decius from Oxyrhynchus is of 4 August 250 (XLIV 3180 1–2), the last from Thebes is of 18 August (WO 1471).

If the date-clause of *Cod. Just.* v 12. 9 is reliable, Herennius was Caesar already on 8 June 250, and the news was slow to penetrate to Egypt, possibly coming to

Oxyrhynchus between 4 and 29 August, certainly not getting to the Theban Oasis until after 28 August. However it cannot be assumed to be reliable.

The next change was the accession of Hostilianus, first known in the papyri from item 6 above, of 11 October 250. By this date it was known at Oxyrhynchus, where it had not been known on 30 September (item 5). Allowing the conventional month for travel to Oxyrhynchus, we would set his accession roughly between 30 August and 11 September, with the usual reservation that news is more likely to be delayed than accelerated, see the case of Herennius. The best evidence from other sources is a *terminus ante quem* of 22 September offered by a coin of Anazarbus and dated by its era, see *Bull. soc. franç. num.* 21 (1971) 128–9.

On the deaths of Decius and Herennius, Trebonianus Gallus became Augustus alongside the young Hostilianus, who remained Caesar, though one theory suggests that he returned to that rank after having been Augustus, see *ANRW* ii 2. 799. The news of the deaths reached Rome between 9 June and 24 June 251 (*CIL* VI 31120—*domini nostri*; 3743 = 31130 = 36760—*divi*). In the Egyptian texts the joint reign of Gallus and Hostilianus is known only from item 8 above, of 13 August. This ostrakon is from Thebes. Again, since Decius and Herennius were dead by 24 June, we may well hope for earlier evidence of the accession of Gallus.

The third new papyrus from Oxyrhynchus, item 9 above, appears to attest a state of affairs not known before, namely a sole rule of Trebonianus Gallus. See 3610 6n. for the slight doubt occasioned by the damage to the papyrus. If, however, the clause is rightly interpreted here, Gallus did reign alone for a very short period. Our document is dated by year 1, that is, before 30 August 251. Volusianus has the same Egyptian regnal-year numbers as Gallus and therefore acceded before 30 August 251. The short space between the deaths of Decius and Herennius (May/June) and 30 August covers two reigns and part of a third, one of Gallus and Hostilianus, another of Gallus alone, the third of Gallus and Volusianus. It is conceivable that Gallus reigned first alone and only then took Hostilianus as a colleague, but it is more likely that he began by associating himself with Hostilianus to give his reign an air of continuity and ruled alone only after the death of Hostilianus. This theory suits the only possibility that has been thought of for restoring 3610 6–7 without emendation, namely a date in the intercalary days of 251, 24–9 August, see note there.

This same papyrus shows that the death of Hostilianus was known in Oxyrhynchus before 30 August and therefore that it probably occurred before 30 July. *CIL* XI 4086, an inscription from Otricoli, Umbria, dated 15 July by the formula *ter et semel consulibus*, which reflects the *damnatio memoriae* of Decius and Herennius, may imply that Hostilianus was likewise dead, see *Studi Calderini-Paribeni* i 305–11, esp. 310–11.

3608. FRAGMENT OF A DATE-CLAUSE

A B.3.5/8(e)

5.5 × 7 cm

16 September 250

The back is blank.

(ἔτους) β' Αὐτοκρ[άτορος Καί]σ[αρ]ο[ς]
 Γαίου Μεσσί[ου] Κυνίου Τραϊανού
 Δεκίου Εὐσεβ[ίου] Εὐτυχοῦς
 Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Κ[υνίου] Ἐρηνίου
 5 Ἐτρούσκου Μεσ[σί]ου Δεκίου
 τοῦ σεβασμ[ω]τάτου Καίσαρος
 Σεβαστῶν.] (vac.) Θὼθ ιθ'.

2 τραϊανου

'Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius Pius Felix Augustus and Quintus Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius, the most august Caesar, Augusti, Thoth 19.'

1-7 For the restorations and commentary see 3609 11-15 and nn.

7 The foot is damaged. It is not possible to say whether or not this was the last line of the complete text.

3609. RECEIPT FOR INHERITANCE TAX

35 4B.101/J(3-4)a

14 × 16 cm

30 September 250

For the significance of the date-clause see the general introduction to 3608-10.

The document was a contract for the payment of tax on an inheritance, incorporating a declaration on oath that the tax had been paid on the full value liable. No exact parallel has been discovered, but declarations of the values of inheritances, which do survive, are probably related, e.g. XLVI 3103, P. Ryl. II 109, P. Amh. II 72.

There is little evidence on inheritance taxes in Egypt, see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 234. The *vicesima hereditarium* is the only one we know, and the information on this is poor from all sources, see *RE VIII A. 2* (1958) 2471-7. If this receipt does refer to the *vicesima*, it is our latest evidence for it, superseding references dating from the reign of Severus Alexander, see *RE VIII A. 2*. 2474. 46-60; 2477. 34-8.

Dio Cassius tells us that it affected all except τῶν πάνυ συγγενῶν καὶ πενήτων (55. 25), from which it has been deduced that beneficiaries who were closely related to the deceased were exempt and that small estates or inheritances were also exempt, but the

details still remain uncertain. Here the deceased was brother of the legatee, though the wording in 9, τοῦ δηλουμένου μου ἀδελ(φοῦ), allows the possibility that he was a half-brother who had been more specifically described earlier in the text as a ἑμιπάτριος or ἑμιμήτριος ἀδελφός.

Again providing that the tax here was the *vicesima*, we may calculate by multiplying the amount of the tax, 47 dr., by twenty, that the valuation of the inheritance was 940 dr. The wording, κατα[λεί]φθαι μοι (8-9), perhaps implies that there was a will, and there may well have been other legacies, but we do not know for certain whether the limit on the amount implied by Dio (πλὴν τῶν . . . πενήτων) was fixed by reference to the full estate or to each legacy, see *RE VIII A. 2*. 2472. 52-2473. 31. However, it is probable that the fiscus would have placed its limit on the full estate, rather than allow tax to be avoided by dividing the estate. We cannot deduce, therefore, that the limit was below 940 dr., which is probably only part of the estate, though it has been convincingly argued that the limit was a comparatively low one, see J. F. Gilliam, *AJP* 73 (1952) 397-405.

The fragment was part of a συγκολλησίμων—a roll-file made by gluing individual items side by side. A small piece of the item adjacent on the right remains. It is mostly blank, but has the beginning of one line, διε. [, which looks like part of διέγραψα in the subscription formula, cf. 16. The back of the roll file was used subsequently for a register of names accompanied by amounts of land in aruras. The remains of it are very much damaged.

c. 12], ιτη[.] . . [

c. 12]. καὶ χρημ() το. . . [. . .] . . . [

c. 8 δρ]αχ(μ-) τεσσαράκοντα ἐπτά, (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) μζ [. .

c. 6 εὐ]μβολον ἔσχον. (vac.)

5 καὶ ὀμν[ύ]ω τὴν Γαίου Μεσσίου Κυνίου Τραϊανού
 Δεκίου] Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Κυνίου[υ
 Ἐρε]ν[νίου] Ἐτρούσκου Μεσσίου Δεκίου τοῦ σεβασμωτ[άτου
 Κα]ίσαρος Σεβαστῶν τύχην μηδὲν ἕτερον κατα-
 10 λε]λείφθαι μοι ὑπὸ τοῦ δηλουμένου μου ἀδελ(φοῦ) ἀνήκον
 τ]ῶ τέλει ἢ ἐνοχος εἶην τῷ ὄρκω καὶ ἐπερ[ω]τηθ(εῖς)
 ὠμολόγησα. (ἔτους)] β' Αὐτοκράτορος Καί[σ]αρ[ο]ς
 Γαίου Μεσσίου Κυνίου Τραϊανού Δεκίου[υ] Εὐσεβοῦς
 Εὐτυχοῦς Σε]βα[στ]οῦ καὶ [[Γα.] Κυνίου Ἐρηνίου
 Ἐτρούσκου] Μεσσίου Δεκίου τοῦ σεβασμωπάτου

2 χρημς

3 δρ]αχ' /5

9 ἀδελ'

10 ἐπερ[ω]τηθ'

15 Καίσαρος] Σεβαστῶν, Φαῶφι γ. (m. 2) Μάρκος Ουαλέριος
 c. 8] . . . διέγραψα καὶ ἔσχον τὸ σύμβολον καὶ ὤμα-
 κα τὸν ὄρ]κον ὡς πρόκιτε καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὤμο-
 λόγησ[α. (vac.)
] (vac.)
 (m. 3?)] () ας κολ(λημ-) λξ [
 (m. 4?) c. 20] μαρκιωχρ[
 21 c. 20] ξ (vac.) [
] (vac.) [

16-17 I. ὤμο[σα] 17 I. πρόκειται

4 . . . forty-seven drachmas, total 47 dr., . . . I received the receipt. And I swear by the fortune of Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius Pius Felix Augustus and Quintus Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius the most august Caesar, Augusti, that nothing else has been bequeathed to me by my said brother which is subject to the tax, or may I be liable to the penalty of the oath, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent. Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius Pius Felix Augustus and Quintus Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius the most august Caesar, Augusti, Phaophi 3.

1. Marcus Valerius . . . , paid and received the receipt and swore the oath as aforesaid and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.

2] . . . [. The second of these traces descends to the left in a way which suggests that it may have been a mark of abbreviation such as is used earlier in the line in *χημξ*.

3-4 The end of 3 may well have been blank or held no more than an oblique stroke to mark out the numeral. We expect something like *ὄν τὸ σύμβολον ἔσχον* or *καὶ τὸ σύμβολον ἔσχον*.

8-9 The words *καταλεῖψθαι μοι* may suggest that there was a will, see introd.

11 The damaged year-number is guaranteed by the month-name and the presence of Herennius, since there is a good series of dates showing that Decius ruled alone till the end, or almost the end, of his first Egyptian year, see 3608-10 introd.

14 *σεβασμωτάτου*, cf. 7. This title appears only in connection with Herennius and Hostilianus, see P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures* 129. Latin inscriptions apparently have only the usual *nobilissimus* (*ILS* III. 1, pp. 297-8), for which the Greek equivalent is *ἐπιφανέστατος*. A Greek inscription calls Hostilianus *ὁ θεοφιλέστατος Καίσαρ*, see *ILS* I 520 n.

16 The last of the unread traces at the beginning is a horizontal which extends over the initial of *διέγραψα*. It might possibly be part of *Μαρκι]ω* = *Μαρκίω(ν)*, see 20 and n., but the traces are not entirely satisfactory. *ὤμοσα* = *ἰμοσα*. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 287-8.

19 It seems very likely that there is a reference here to roll and column of some public record, i.e. *τομ(-) ας κολ(λημ-) λξ*, 'roll 1, column 37'. However, the first superscript letter looks like the lambda of *αδελ* (9), and the second looks more like mu than lambda. I suspect that the clerk got the superscripts the wrong way round and wrote *τολ() ας κομ() λξ*. The trace immediately preceding this is also at a high level and may be part of yet another abbreviation.

20 Read probably the name *Μαρκίω(ν)*; perhaps *χηρηματιζων* follows, but cf. 16 n.

21 The zeta might be part of *μξ*—the number of drachmas paid in tax (3)—or, less likely, of *λξ*, the presumed column number of I. 19.

3610. APPLICATION FOR AN ORDER TO POSSESS

35 4B.71/J(9-11)b

10 × 7 cm

Before 30 August 251

For the significance of the date clause, see the general introduction to 3608-10. See 6 n. for a problem about the form of it.

This fragment is the top right-hand corner of an application from a creditor to an acting strategus for the transmission to the debtor of an order to possess property pledged on mortgage. For the process see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*² 535, E. Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte Ägyptens als römischer Provinz* 205.

The back is blank.

[παρὰ . . .] ωι διαδεχομένοι στρατηγίαν Οξυρυγχ(ίτου)
 [τος . . .] απίανος Θεώνος τοῦ Διογένους μητρὸς Σαραποῦ-
 [βαδείας . . .] π]όλωσι. οὐ ἐπόρισα ἐκ' τοῦ καταλογίου χρηματικμοῦ ἐμ-
 [δικαστῆς . . .] Αἰρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ἀρχι-
 5 [τήρυφον . . .] Οξυρυγχ]ίτου χαίρειν. τῆς τετελει(ω)μένης ἐμβαδείας ἀν-
 [. . .] ἔρρ]ωσο. (ἔτους) α Τρ[εβωνι]ανοῦ Γάλλου τοῦ κυρίου . [. .] των
] . [ce]νη(είωμαι). (ἔτους) α' Ἀύτοκρ[άτορος] Καίσαρος
] .

1 οξυρυγκ 6 L a 7 [ce]νη L φ'

'To . . . administering the strategiate of the Oxyrhynchite nome from . . . apion son of Theon grandson of Diogenes, mother Sarapus, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. Here is a copy of the registration of the order to possess which I obtained from the office of the archidicastes:

'Aurelius Apollonius alias Dionysius priest and archidicastes, to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greetings. A copy of the completed order to possess is to be delivered as it stands below. Farewell. Year 1 of Trebonianus Gallus the lord . . . I . . . , have signed. Year 1 of Imperator Caesar . . . '

1 This acting strategus is not known, unless he is to be identified with the Syrus of I 62 = *W. Chr.* 278, who may date from about this time, see *ZPE* 29 (1978) 180, No. 87, and especially *CE* 62 (1956) 352.

1-6 Following in the main III 485 = *M. Chr.* 246 we see that the beginnings of the lines must have contained something like:

1. Αἰρήλιω Σύρ]ωι (or another name), which makes c. 11 letters,
2. παρὰ Αἰρήλιου] Ἀπίανος (or more likely *Σαρ]απίανος*), c. 12-15.
3. τος ἀπ' Οξυρυγχων π]όλωσι, c. 15.
4. βαδείας ἐστιν ἀντήρυ(αφον), c. 19.
5. δικαστῆς στρ(ατηγῶ) Οξυρυγχ]ίτου, c. 18
6. τήρυ(αφον) μεταδοθήτω ὡς ὑπ(όκειται). ἔρρ]ωσο, c. 24.

4 The archidicastes is new, i.e. not in the list of P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones* 129-49, or among the additions collected by L. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 224. There is a homonymous late third-century prytanis of Oxyrhynchus, who also held office in Alexandria, see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 136 and n. 24, cf. 133 (three entries). There is just a possibility that the archidicastes is the same man, but the names are common and the Oxyrhynchite was prytanis as late as AD 291/2, so that his career would have been extraordinarily long. Cf. 3606 introd. (penult. para.) for a remark on the career of the prytanis.

6 Other papyri would lead us to expect here a date-clause by Gallus and Hostilianus or Gallus and Volusianus, though year 1 is not attested for the second coupling, see P. Bureth *Les Titulatures* 116-17. After τοῦ κυρίου, which itself looks like the end of the titlature, there is a trace of ink fairly low with blank papyrus above

it; $\kappa[\alpha\iota]$ can hardly be accepted as a reading, so that a titulature of Gallus with both Hostilianus and Volusianus is not a likely interpretation.

If this is a date-clause by Gallus alone ending at $\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ κυρίου, as seems most likely, the next thing ought to be the month and day. The date must be before 30 August 251, because year 2 began on that day. It should probably be not much if at all earlier than 13 August 251, when a Theban ostrakon, SB VI 9235, was dated by Gallus and Hostilianus, see 3608–10 introd. Therefore it should fall in Mesore or in the intercalary days, of which there were six in this year. However, we certainly cannot read *Μεσορή* or *Ἐπαγομένων* here. Perhaps we might envisage something like $\tau[\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\eta] \tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ [*Ἐπαγομένων*], but this is contrary to practice, which requires the pattern *Ἐπαγομένων* α, and to which I have as yet found no exception. Alternatively the titulature might have been intended to end with $\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ κυρίου Σεβαστοῦ, cf. III 485 7, for which the clerk wrote $\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ κυρίου $\zeta[\epsilon\beta\alpha]\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ by mistake. In the circumstances a doubt must remain, but it still looks very much as if we have here a date-clause by Gallus alone.

7 The singular *Ἀυτοκρ[άτορος] Κάισαρος* shows at least that we are not yet into the joint reign of Gallus and Volusianus, who were both Augusti and whose titulature begins *Ἀυτοκρατόρων Καίσαρων*, see P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures* 117. This beginning still allows us to envisage a titulature of Gallus as Augustus and Hostilianus as Caesar; compare the titulatures of Philip Augustus and Philip Caesar, or of Decius Augustus with one or two Caesars (Bureth 114, 116; 3608, 3609).

It may be objected to this line of reasoning that in L 3567 10–11 an otherwise normal titulature of 2 Gallus and Volusianus begins (*ἑτους*) β" *Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος*, by mistake for *Ἀυτοκρατόρων Καίσαρων*, but this aberration is not likely to have occurred here as well.

3611. RESCRIPT OF VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS

66 6B.2/M(3-6)d

15 x 22.5 cm

c.253-7?

The rescript instructed the *ἱερονίκαί* of Antinoopolis to apply to Magnius Felix, prefect of Egypt, for judgement of their claim to recover from the imperial treasury allowances which had been interrupted for a period of fifteen months and seven days. This period is described as being one of two which the Alexandrians called *ἀφαιρέσεις*, an expression which is potentially of historical interest but of which no good explanation has yet been offered, see 7–10 n.

An endorsement in a second hand describes the text as 'a copy of a rescript of Caesar' (22), though it is clearly headed by the titles of both Valerian and Gallienus. The rescript system was the subject of a famous article by U. Wilcken, *Hermes* 55 (1920) 1–42 and has been much studied recently, see, for example, W. Williams, *JRS* 64 (1974) 86–103, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 37–78; 40 (1980) 283–94, T. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* (1981), esp. 24–53, *JRS* 69 (1979) 51–64, D. Nörr, *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology* (1981) 575–604, *ZSS* (Roman. Abt.) 98 (1981) 1–46. Wilcken divided rescripts into two categories, *scriptio* and *epistula*. The first was an answer to a petition (*libellus*), given in the form of a subscription at the foot of the petition itself. The second was a formal letter sent in reply to a letter submitted by a city, or a corporate body, or some prominent individual. Subsequent researchers have added that the word *scriptio* was no longer used of imperial rescripts after the early third century and that the private rescript attained an independent form with a heading made up of the imperial titles, as in our example, Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* 47, Nörr, *Proc. XVI ICP*

576, 598–9. What distinguishes the *epistula* from the private rescript is the presence of a greeting formula at the end of the prescript and of a farewell formula at the end of the letter, cf. Williams, *JRS* 64 (1974) 87, Nörr, *ZSS* (Roman. Abt.) 98 (1981) 9–10. Both are absent here. The absence of the farewell in a copy of an *epistula* is attested in IV 705 iii (= W. Chr. 407) 63, cf. probably i (= W. Chr. 153) 14, but in those two cases *χαίρειν* is retained in the prescripts (7, 58). The diplomatic forms indicate, therefore, that this rescript is not an *epistula* but a private rescript of the type developed from the *scriptio*, although we might have thought it possible that the *ἱερονίκαί* οἱ ἐν Ἀντινόου πόλει constituted a 'corporate body', which could have approached the emperors with an *epistula*, cf. Nörr, *ZSS* (Roman. Abt.) 98 (1981) 10.

This item raises again, but does not answer, the vexed question of the use of Greek in rescripts. The department of the *a libellis*, from which the private rescripts came, is not known to have dealt in Greek, although an *epistula* might be drafted by either the *ab epistulis Latinis* or the *ab epistulis Graecis*. It has never been settled whether the few private rescripts that survive in Greek only are always translations from the Latin or not, see Williams, *JRS* 64 (1974) 101–3, Nörr, *Proc. XVI ICP* 600. Here we must assume that a Latin original, if it existed, would have been likely to contain a Greek word, some form of *ἀφαιρέσει*, in its version of *δυσὶν ἀφαιρέσεων τῶν καλουμένων παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι* (7–9).

There is a statistical probability that this document falls in the term of office of an *a libellis* whose Latin style has been isolated and analysed by Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* 93–6, and recognized by him in documents running from 4 July 254 to 8 March 259. It would be very interesting if there were anything substantial in this Greek which could be said confidently to reflect the style of that group of rescripts. If there is, I have not found it. More generally it can be said that the Greek text agrees with Honoré's characterization of the Latin group in that it is rather long for a rescript and has a rhetorical tone, but for the present I am content to heed his warning that it is unsafe to reach conclusions from the Greek texts of rescripts, op. cit. 37–8.

The date of the rescript can be set for certain between September 253 and 15 May 257, simply by reference to the names of the emperors and the prefect, see 1–4 n., 15 n. A further possibility of narrowing the range is considered in 1–4 n. We may perhaps add that there is a likelihood that the petitioners approached the emperors, or more probably one of them, in the East, see P. Coll. Youtie II 66 introd. (pp. 416–19). This would not narrow the period available very substantially, because Valerian is thought to have departed for the Parthian frontier not long after the beginning of his reign in late summer 253, see *ANRW* ii 2. 814. This copy might well be contemporary, but such rescripts were often used as precedents, so that it might be later than 257. The main script is a practised official cursive, much influenced by the 'Chancery' style, and therefore rather difficult to date. It can be compared with P. Med. inv. 63, see *Aegyptus* 45 (1965), tav. 6 (between pp. 250 and 251). It might belong anywhere in the second half of the third century or even in the early part of the fourth. The less formal hand of the endorsement does not look so late as the fourth century.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος
 Οὐαλεριανὸς Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχής Σεβαστὸς καὶ
 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος
 Οὐ[α]λεριανὸς Γαλλιηνὸς Εὐ[ε]β[ε] (ἦς) Ε[ὐ]τ[υ]χ(ἦς) Ζ[ε]β[α]ς[ε]τ[ε] (ὸς)
 5 ἱερονεϊκαὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἀγτ[υ]νόου π[ό]λει δ[ι]ὰ
 Σεπτίμιου Καλλικλέους. (v.) [] (vac.)
 ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὸν ἔν[α] μ[ε]ν χρόνον δυοῖν
 ἀφαιρέσεων τῶν καλουμένων παρὰ
 Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι, τῶ[ν] τῶν πεντεκαίδεκά τε
 10 μῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ γενόμενον,
 τοὺς μὲν Ἀλε[ξ]ανδρέας ἱερονεϊκὰς εἰληφέ-
 ναι τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγῶσι, ζυγτάξις παρὰ τοῦ
 ταμείου φατέ, τὸ δ[ὲ] κατ[ὰ] τὸν Ἀντιωέα
 15 ὑμᾶς ἐπεσχῆ[σ]θαι, πρὸς[ε]τε τῶ φίλῳ ἡμῶν
 καὶ ἐπάρχῳ τ[ῆ]ς Αἰγύπτου Μαγνίῳ Φήλικι
 παρεχόμενοι ταῦτα, [δς.] ξὺν μηδενὶ λόγῳ
 τὸ καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπεσχημένον εὐρίσκειν, προστάξει
 20 τὰς τοῦ ῥηθέντος χρόνου συντάξεις ἀποδο-
 θῆναι καὶ ἵς τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμῖν διδοσθαι ὅσα
 καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πρόσθεν χρόνου τετυ-
 χήκατε. (v.) [] (vac.)

Back, downwards. (m. 2) ἀ[ντιγραφο]ν ἀντιγραφῆς Καίσαρος.

4 ε[ν] [ε]β[ε] [ε] [ν]τ[υ]χ[] [ε]β[α]ς[ε]τ[ε]?? 5, 11 l. ἱερονεικ- 19 l. εἰς 22 δ

Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Valerianus Pius Felix Augustus and Imperator Caesar Publius Licinius Valerianus Gallienus Pius Felix Augustus to the winners in sacred games in Antinoopolis through Septimius Callicles.

'Since you claim that for one period of the two which are called among the Alexandrians 'deprivations', the one that lasted for fifteen months and seven days, the Alexandrian winners in sacred games have received from the treasury the allowances in respect of games, but that what pertains to you the Antinoites was stopped, apply presenting this (document) to our friend and prefect of Egypt Magnus Felix, who, if he finds that your share was stopped for no reason, will issue a command that the allowances for the specified period be delivered and that for the future you be given also all that you have got over the whole of the preceding period.'

Back. (2nd hand) 'Copy of a rescript of Caesar.'

1-4 A *terminus post quem* for the rescript is provided by the fact that the Egyptian dating formula was by the titulature of the emperor Aemilianus as late as Phaophi of 253, see X 1286 and P. Got. 4. No day is preserved in these cases, so that the *terminus post quem* is Phaophi 1, the equivalent of 28 September 253.

A firm *terminus ante quem* is provided by the dated appearance of the corrector Ulpian Pasion in XLIII 3111

of 15 May 257. He cannot have governed the country while Magnus Felix, see here l. 15, was still prefect of Egypt.

That document is dated by Valerian and Gallienus as *Augusti* and by Valerian Junior as *Caesar*. It may well be that if Valerian Junior had been *Caesar* by the date of this rescript his name would have been associated with those of his father and grandfather, see C. Zaccaria, 'I figli dell'imperatore Gallieno', *Quaderni di storia antica e di epigrafia* 2 (1978) 102-4. He first appears in the dating formulae of the fourth Egyptian regnal year, 256/7. He does not appear in XXXIV 2714 of year 4, Thoth 1 = 29 August 256, but he is in BGU III 945 of year 4, Phaophi (no day) = September/October 256. The last day of Phaophi is equivalent to 27 October, so that, if the *Caesar's* name is to be expected in contexts like this, the *terminus ante quem* is 27 October 256, rather than 15 May 257.

4 There is an extra dot of stray ink after the raised tau of Ζ[ε]β[α]ς[ε]τ[ε] (ὸς), but there is no real doubt that the usual titles, the equivalent of *Pius Felix Augustus*, were written here in abbreviated form. The undamaged hypsilon chi are enough to prove it. There is so far no trace in the papyri of Gallienus' short period at *Caesar*, for which see *ANRW* ii. 2. 809-9.

5-6 *ἱερονεϊκαὶ* (= *-νικαὶ*) τοῖς ἐν Ἀγτ[υ]νόου π[ό]λει. This looks like the designation of a corporate body, see introd., but there is room for doubt, cf. M. San Nicolò, *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen* ii 64-5. For a recent demonstration of the large part that Egyptians played in the games of the imperial period, particularly as heavyweight athletes (boxers, wrestlers, etc.) see L. Robert, *CRAI* 1982, 272-3.

6 Septimius Callicles has not been located in any other text. He might have been the ambassador of the Antinoite sacred victors, to deliver their request to the emperors and bring back the emperors' reply, cf. *ZPE* 40 (1980) 285, 'the epistles of cities or of other corporate bodies in the provinces were normally delivered by embassies, which also brought back the emperors' replies'. But private rescripts were also directed through intermediaries, e.g. *FIRA* i 106, 107.

After the name there is a short blank space, then a gap wide enough for three or four letters, then 3.5 cm of blank papyrus. Clearly there was no formula of greeting, see introd.

7 *δυοῖν*. The dual is almost entirely absent from the papyri, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 334 (= *TAPA* 91 (1960) 242), but *δύο* offers a few exceptions, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 188, where *δυοῖν* is seen to be even rarer than *δύο*. It is perhaps less surprising in an imperial rescript than it might be in a humbler text.

7-10 As far as can be discovered from the papyrological dictionaries the word *ἀφαιρέσις* is rare in the papyri and always means a theft of goods, see XLVI 3289 l. 3, 18 (AD 258/9), P. Lips. 43. 12, 16 (iv AD)—both of papers or books, Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIII 8. 8 (AD 421)—of hay, XVI 1938 3, 4 (vi AD)—of wood. Several other meanings are listed in *LSJ*, so that the Alexandrians' metaphor need not have been taken from this one, but it seems the most likely. One possibility that springs to mind is that the Alexandrians used this term to refer to two reigns of usurpers, but there is no reign of the right length. There is plenty of vague evidence of troubles such as plague, persecution, and civil disturbance, in Alexandria in the mid third century, see H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung* 210-12, S. I. Oost, *Class. Phil.* 56 (1961) 1-20, but I have found nothing that can plausibly be identified with this passage.

12-13 Sacred winners were winners in games designated sacred, usually by an emperor, cf. K. Rigby, *CE* 52 (1977) 147-55. No particular games are specified here, because the same title might have been acquired at a number of different locations. In theory the prize in sacred games was a garland of leaves, but it is well known that more substantial advantages were gained, cf. P. Coll. Youtie II pp. 472-3. It is interesting to learn that in this case the payment came from the imperial treasury. Usually they come from the city fund (*πολιτικὸς λόγος*) of the winner's home town, cf. loc. cit. 473; *CE* 52 (1977) 152. Perhaps it is relevant that in P. Mich. XI 623 (to be read in conjunction with *ZPE* 29 (1978) 190) money paid in lieu of supplying bulls for games went to imperial funds (τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ, 17), though the city fund was mentioned in 20, in a passage that was cancelled in the draft.

15 For Magnus Felix see *ZPE* 17 (1975) 314. The Septimius who is listed as a possible prefect of Egypt in *ZPE* 38 (1980) 87 is far too uncertain to count as his predecessor.

16 ταῦτα. Unfortunately this does not help to define the rescript as *epistula* or *subscriptio*, cf. introd. It might be the equivalent of ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν or ταύτην τὴν ὑπογραφὴν, i.e. the text that we have before us, or it might refer to a *libellus* together with this, its *subscriptio*.

20-1 τετυχῆκατε. The Attic form *τετύχηκα* is less familiar in the papyri than *τέτυχα*, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 534 and n. 69. Cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 206 (§434), 208 (§435. 8); the phrasing is misleading, '... stem τευχ-, e.g. τετύχησα... ', but the facts seem to be right), and F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 298,

where τετεύχηκα is wrongly ascribed to XXII 2343 9 (τετεύχηκα) and to P. Lond. II 412. 15 (p. 280; [τ]ε[τεύ]χηκα) = P. Abinn. 55. 15 (τε[τεύ]χηκα).

21 The bottom edge of the sheet is not preserved, but it seems probable that the text is complete. The lacuna is wide enough for only about nine letters, so that ἐρράσθε would have to have been very unluckily placed to fall entirely in the gap. Probably there was no farewell formula. To the right of the lacuna and below the line on the left there is blank papyrus, which is about 2 cm deep at one point.

22 The abbreviation for ἀ(ντίγραφον) is badly damaged. Possibly it was an alpha with an oblique stroke passing through it from below on the left to above on the right, cf. W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, no. 37b, *Aegyptus* 45 (1965), tav. 12 (lower item).

3612. LETTER OF A PREFECT

38 3B.85/A(1-2)a

18 × 15 cm

29 May 271-5

A strip has been torn from the left-hand edge of this papyrus, but no letters are wholly lost from ll. 1-8. Unfortunately a bigger piece has come away at the bottom left corner, removing about five letters of l. 9 and among them the regnal-year number, which would have given us a fixed date in the term of the prefect of Egypt Statilius Ammianus, see 9n. The back is blank.

The prefect appoints the recipient of the letter embolarches of the Oxyrhynchite nome and orders him to see that all public transport animals work to load the grain ships without delay. This is the earliest appearance of the embolarches and the fact that the prefect makes the appointment of a liturgical official is noteworthy, see 4n.

Στατίλιος (vac.) Ἀμμιανὸς (vac.) Σεπτιμῖω Εὐδαίμονι
κοσμητεύσαντι Ἀλεξανδρέων νιῶ Σεπτιμίου
Cερήνου (vac.) χαίρειν. (vac.)
κατέστηκά σε τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου ἐμβολάρχην.

5 εἰδὼς τοῖνυν τὸν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας κείνδνον
φρόντισον τὰ δημόσια κτήνη σύνπαντα ποιῆσαι
τῇ ἐμβολῇ ὑπηρετήσαι ὡς ἂν μὴ τὰ πεμπόμενα
πλοῖα εἰς τῆς κυτοπομπίαν ἐπεισχεθείη. (m. 1?) ἐρρω[.] [

(m. 1?) (ἔτους) , τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐρηλιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, Παοῖνι δ.

2 ὠω 4 οξυρυγχίτου; 1. ἐμβολάρχην 5 l. κίνδνον 6 l. σύνπαντα 7 l. ἐμβολῆ;
ὑπηρετήσαι 8 l. ἐπεισχεθείη 9 l. Παῖνι

‘Statilius Ammianus to Septimius Eudaemon, ex-cosmetes of the Alexandrians, son of Septimius Serenus, greetings. I have appointed you superintendent of lading for the Oxyrhynchite nome. So then, as you know the risk entailed in the service, take care to make all the public transport animals serve the lading, so that the boats which are sent for the grain transport shall not be delayed. (1st hand?) I pray for your health (?).

(1st hand?) ‘Year . . . of our lord Aurelianus Augustus, Payni 4.’

1 There are traces in the first space. It looks as if the cognomen was originally written or at least begun there and was afterwards imperfectly washed out.

1-3 On Septimius Eudaemon son of Septimius Serenus see *JRS* 71 (1981) 92, L 3596 1 n., and 3597 1.

4 κατέστηκα. The verb has no special implications for the manner or circumstances of the appointment, see *CE* 44 (1969) 339-40. The fact that it is the prefect who makes the appointment to what is known from elsewhere as a curial liturgy, see below, indicates that the circumstances were not normal. Perhaps Eudaemon petitioned the prefect to annul the appointment made by the council and the prefect rejected the petition and reinforced his decision by this threatening letter.

ἐμβολάρχην, l. ἐμβ-. The word is known only from papyri of the fifth century (P. Vindob. G. 21078. 8 in *Aegyptus* 61 (1981) 89) and eighth century (P. Lond. IV 1441. 60, 64; 1457. 117). The name of the office, ἐμβολαρχία, occurs only once, in P. Mert. II 90. 11. The date of that document is probably 310 or 311, see XXXIII, p. 95. Mention is made in it of two persons elected by the Oxyrhynchite council εἰς τὴν ἐμβολαρχίαν. The general nature of the post is evident from the name. The officials were in charge of loading the boats which were to take the grain received by the state as taxes and convey it to Alexandria. For the ἐμβολή see E. Börner, *Der staatliche Korntransport*. From the terms of this letter we gather that their duties chiefly concerned the organization of animals to convey the grain from the granaries of the district to the embarkation points. This, together with the date of this document, excludes the suggestion of the editors of P. Mert. 90 that the ἐμβολαρχία was the successor to the δεκαπωρεῖα. From N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* 21, it appears that the decaproti continued to act until 302, see also *ZPE* 19 (1975) 111 and especially *BASP* 11 (1974) 60-8.

The rarity of the references to this office is probably accidental. If not, and if an embolarch was appointed only in exceptional circumstances, there is no obvious indication of the nature of those circumstances. It has been pointed out already that the prefect's concern with the appointment indicates that there were unusual circumstances in this case. That the supply of transport animals did run into difficulties from time to time is well illustrated by XVIII 2182. In that document of 166 the matter is dealt with by strateg. Of course, the embolarchy as a curial liturgy cannot have existed before the creation of the local town councils about 200 and this document of about 272 is our earliest evidence of it.

5 For the personal and financial responsibility assumed by liturgists see U. Wollentin, *Ὁ κίνδυνος in den Papyri* (Diss. Köln 1961) 77-9, cf. *Atti dell' XI Congresso internazionale di papirologia* 532-7, which is however more particularly concerned with the *periculum nominatoris*.

6 δημόσια κτήνη. See F. Oertel, *Liturgie* 116-21.

7-8 ὡς ἂν μὴ . . . ἐπεισχεθείη (l. ἐπεισχε-). For this literary flourish see W. Schmid, *Atticismus* iii 86-7, iv 88.

8 The form of the farewell is uncertain, partly because of damage and partly because of an attempt to write small at the end of the line. The traces may best suit ἐρρω[ε] (α) ἢ εἰς εἴ[χ] (ομαι). A similar phrase with *βοῦλομαι* would also suit the common usage, cf. VIII 1100 5 n., XII 1408 20 n. If the papyrus were an original, which is unlikely, the farewell would be in the hand of the prefect himself. It is not at all clear that it is written in a second hand, though it might possibly be.

9 The last line is written on a slightly smaller scale than the body of the document, but it may well be by the same hand.

The lost regnal-year number would have given us a fixed date in the term of the prefect Statilius Ammianus, on which see G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 32 (1978) 81-4. Ammianus took up office in 271, in the course of the Graeco-Egyptian year 270/1, which was referred to contemporaneously as 1 Aurelian and (4) Vaballathus and was only subsequently known as 2 Aurelian, see P. Oxy. XL pp. 15-26, esp. 20, 25. The date-clause here mentioning Aurelian alone appears to show that 3612 cannot belong to that year, but if the farewell formula is in the same hand as the rest, as I think, see 8n., the copyist may have been writing in or after summer 272 and so may have used the corrected date-clause by Aurelian alone. In that case the letter would date from 29 May 271.

The next Graeco-Egyptian year, 271/2, was known as 2 Aurelian 5 Vaballathus as late as Pharmuthi 22 (= 17 April 272) and began to be called 3 Aurelian some time before Payni 30 (= 24 June 272), see P. Oxy. XL, p. 25. If 3612 were found to date from this year, the *terminus ante quem* for the change of the date-formula, which resulted from Aurelian's recovery of Egypt from Palmyrene control, would be placed nearly a month earlier, 29 May instead of 24 June, 272. Again this applies only if the date-clause in the copy is the same as the one used in the original. Of the possible dates for this document 29 May 272 is the nearest to the best defined date for Ammianus, some time in Mesore (July/August) 272.

Year 4 = 272/3 is also a possibility. In that case the date of 3612 would be 29 May 273, which, if certain, would be the latest known date for Ammianus.

By the same day in the next year the chief authority in Egypt would very likely have been the *corrector Aegypti* C. Claudius Firmus, whose only certain date is 8 February 274, but who may have been in office as early as 14 July 273, though the year-number is uncertain, see *ZPE* 17 (1975) 317. This probably indicates that Ammianus was already out of office. Two earlier *correctores* were in the country at the same time as L. Mussius Aemilianus, but so far as is yet known Aemilianus remained acting prefect under them and was probably only promoted to full prefect after their periods of office were ended. See the discussion in XLIII 3111 introd.

If, however, Ammianus remained in Egypt alongside Firmus, the next two years are also possible, that is, he might have been prefect still on 29 May 274 or 29 May 275. By the same day in 276 the date-clause in use referred to the emperor Tacitus.

Παύλι (l. Παύλι) δ. For the spelling cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 198(2). After the delta, which seems certain, there is some more ink which is not expected. It could possibly be an offset. If not, it is presumably accidental.

Liturgies most often began on the first day of the Graeco-Egyptian year, Thoth 1, but other dates were possible, see *Proc. IX Int. Congr. of Papyrology* (1958) 232, 239-42; *TAPA* 100 (1969) 255-60. In P. Mert. II 90 the appointment of two persons to the embolarchy took place in the council on 25 May, which agrees very well with the 29 May of this document.

This time of year was appropriate because of the nature of the duty. The great bulk of the grain was shipped not long after the harvest and during the period of the high Nile. Justinian, in *Edict* xiii ch. 24, gives some interesting dates in his instructions for the shipment of grain from the Thebaid. It was to be embarked on the river boats by 9 August and delivered in Alexandria by 10 September. The end of May would be a good time to begin organizing the land transport.

3613. EDICT OF A PREFECT

36 4B.99/F(5-7)b

13.5 × 25 cm

30 August-28 September 279

The sheet bearing this edict has been badly damaged, having lost the middles of ll. 8-17 and the beginnings and ends of 18-25, besides other less extensive losses and abrasions. The wording cannot be reconstructed in detail, but the content is clear enough in outline.

Orders had been issued that each person who had served in the council of Alexandria since the second year of Aurelian, 270/1, should contribute one talent towards the repair of certain *Thermae* in the city. The prefect Hadrianus Sallustius, whose appearance here is the earliest yet known for him, see 1 n., had played his part in trying to communicate that message to councillors not in residence at Alexandria. The response had been unsatisfactory and he now orders them to declare themselves within thirty days or suffer the penalty.

At the foot there are six lines of shorthand, a script which has not yet found its decipherer, cf. O. Montevecchi, *Papirologia* 60-1. The back is blank.

Ἀδριάνιος Καλλούστιος ὁ διασημότατος [οἰ ἔπαρχος
 Αἰγύπτου λέγει. προσταχθὲν ὑπὸ . [. . .] [. . . .
 τῶν βεβουλευκότων ἕκαστον ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ
 Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους τῆς
 5 Ἀύρηλι(αν)οῦ τοῦ ἐν θεοῖς βασιλείας, διατρεϊβόντων
 τε οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως μόνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἄπα-
 ραι τοῖς τῆς Αἰγύπτου νομοῖς, τάλαντον εἰσκομίσαι
 πρὸς τὴν τῶ[ν c. 15 letters]ων θερμῶν ἐπι-
 κκευήν, π[c. 17 letters ἐπ][.] ἵ τῶν ὄντων
 10 ἕκασταχοῦ [c. 16 letters] c. 16 letters] c. 16 letters
 δεδήλωκα, [c. 15 letters] ηρει τινας γεγ[ο-
 νότας κατὰ τῆ[ν c. 9 letters δια]τρεῖβιν, ἀναγκα[ί-
 ως διὰ τούτου μ[ου τοῦ διατάγμ]ατος προαγορευ-
 15 και τούτοις ἔκρευ[α φανερὸς] εἰ αυτοὺς ὡς ἐν-
 τα ὕθα, εἰ ἀναπόγ[ραφοί εἰςιν, κ]ατατῆσαι καὶ τὴν
 θείσαν τοῦ α[c. 8 letters κ]ατὰ τῶς δημοσίον[c.
 τῆς πόλεως λό[γους] [. . .] αἰ, εἰδότες ὅτι εἰ μ[ὴ
 δι]ά τε τῆς ἀπογραφῆς καὶ τῆς κρ[c. 15 letters
 . . .] ηρειως φανερὸς εἰ αυτοὺς [c. 15 letters
 20 . . .] ν εἰσω τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν [c. 14 letters
 . . .] στον τῆς βουλευτικῆς ἀξίας . [c. 14 letters
 . . .] αν εἰ αυτοῖς λογιούνται προς[c. 14 letters
 προ]σηκόντως ὡς τοῦ τε κοινοῦ . [c. 12 letters
 . . .]τος καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς κελεύσε[ω c. 8 letters
 25 . . .] πεπληρωκότες. πρόθεσ. [. . .]
 (m. 2) (ἔτους) εἴ Ἰρόβου Σεβαστοῦ, Θώθ. (vac.)

27-33: shorthand.

4 l. πόλει 5 l. διατρεῖβόντων 12 l. διατρεῖβει; αναγ'κα[14 l. ἔκρυα

¹Hadrianus Sallustius, *vir perfectissimus, praefectus Aegypti*, says:

'Whereas it was commanded by . . . that each of those persons who have served as councillors in the most glorious city of the Alexandrians from the second year of the reign of Aurelian, now among the gods, and not those who live in the city alone but in all the districts of Egypt as well, should contribute a talent to the repair of the . . . *Thermae* . . .' (See 9 n. for a translation of the later lines as restored by conjecture.)

¹ Ἀδριάνιος Καλλούστιος. The order of the prefect's names, the only ones known for him, is frequently reversed, as in the latest list of prefects (*ZPE* 17 (1975) 317-18), contrary to the unanimous evidence of the

documents. I must therefore withdraw the doubtful reading of P. Ryl. II 114. 1 as *Καλλουτίω Ἀδριανίω*, which I put forward in *BASP* 5 (1968) 40.

A Πό(πλιος) Ἀδριάν(ως) Καλλούτι(ος) Καλλουτίως δὲ ἑπὶ δῶλον dedicated a statue in Philippopolis (Plovdiv) to an ex-governor of Thrace, Q. Sicinius Clarus, who held office in 202, see *AE* 1972, no. 554. If that man is his ancestor, our prefect is a recruit to the scantily attested 'Illyrian' group of officials, which is presumed to have been promoted by the 'Illyrian' emperors and to have exercised influence in the second half of the century, cf. G. Barbieri, *L'Albo senatorio* 459, H.-G. Pflaum, *Procureurs* 194, L. de Blois, *The Policy of the Emperor Gallienus* 55-7.

The date of this document leaves no doubt that he was the patron of the *beneficiarius praefecti Aegypti* in PSI VII 807, cf. *ZPE* 17 (1975) 317; *PLRE* i 798.

2 This is a puzzle. It can hardly be ἡμὸν τοῦ βασιλέως *vel sim.*, because that would be too curt a way to make a first reference to the emperor. Perhaps τῶν (or τοῦ) πρὸ ἐμοῦ might suit, though that too seems curt without at least ἡγεμονεύσαντων (or -τος). It might be τ[ῆς] κρ[υ] (= κρατικής) βολ[υ]ής, leaving it to emerge in 2-4 that it was the Alexandrian council. This would suit the traces, but is far from certain.

4-5 The second year of Aurelian, for those writing after Aurelian's recovery of Egypt in the period April-June, AD 272, was AD 270/1, cf. *XL* Introd., pp. 23-4. This was the year in which Egypt came under Palmyrene control. It may possibly be that the repairs to the Thermae were intended to make good dilapidations caused during the fighting to recover Alexandria in 272, though this is not a necessary conclusion.

5 For the correction *Ἀδριαν(ω)σ* cf. *XLIII* 3111 6, *Ὀδαλερι(α)ν*.

8 For baths in Alexandria see A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* i 1. 97. No Alexandrian Thermae are known by name, but the lacuna is likely to have held a name, perhaps preceded by *ἐν ταῦθα*. There is a strange story in Malalas (*SHB*, p. 293) that Septimius Severus confiscated the estate of a man named *Θερμῶς*, who had built a public bath called *Θέρμα* after himself. Malalas also mentions a *Κεβήριον λουτρόν*, but the context is too fictional to lend support to a guess such as τῶν ἐν ταῦθα *Κεουηρια* νῶν θερμῶν.

9 From this point the text is too badly damaged to be restored in any reliable fashion. The following version is conjectural:

- 10 ἡ π[ρότερον μὲν τοῖς ἐπ[ὶ]. . .] ἡ τῶν ὄντων
 ἑκασταχοῦ [τόπων καταγινόμενοι]ς διὰ γραμμ[άτων
 δεδήλωκα, [νῦν δέ, ὁρῶν ἐν ἀναχωρ]ήσει τινας γεγ[ο]-
 νάστας κατὰ τ[ῆν] χώραν ἐπι δια]τρεῖβιν, ἀναγκα[ί]-
 ως διὰ τοῦτου μ[οῦ] τοῦ διατάγ[ματος] προαγορεύ-
 15 ται τοῖς ἐκρεμ[α φανεροῦ]ς ἑαυτοῦς ὡς ἐν-
 ταῦθα, εἰ ἀναπόγ[ραφοί] εἰσιν, κ[α]ταστήσει καὶ τὴν
 ὄμνησιν τοῦ α[ἰ] (ταλάντου) καταβολὴν κ[ατὰ] τῆς δημοσίον[ε]
 τῆς πόλεως λόγους] π[ο]νήσ[α]σθαι, εἰδότες ὅτι εἰ μ[ὴ]
 δι[ὰ] τῆς ἀπογραφῆς καὶ τῆς κ[α]ταβολῆς ἐξ ἀνα-
 20 χω]ρήσεως φανεροῦς ἑαυτοῦς [καταστήσονται εἰς τὴν
 ἰδί]αν εἰς αὐτὰ ἡμέρας, [στερηθῆσονται
 οὐχ ὅ]σον τῆς βουλευτικῆς ἀξίας, μ[άλλον δὲ τὴν ἐπι-
 25 τιμ]ῶν ἑαυτοῦς λογιῶνται πρός[τιμον, καὶ ταῦτα
 προσήκοντος ὡς τοῦ τε κοινοῦ π[ά]σιν συμφέ-
 ρον]τος καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς κελεύσε[ως τὸ δίκαιον
 μὴ] πεπληρωκότες.

. . . I earlier informed by letter those who were in temporary residence in localities everywhere, and now, seeing that some persons have taken to flight and are still living in the country, of necessity I have decided to command them by this edict of mine to declare themselves here, if they are unregistered, and to make the prescribed payment of the one talent in accordance with the public accounts of the city, in the knowledge that if they do not declare themselves returned from flight in their usual place of residence by registration and payment within thirty days, not so much will they be deprived of their councillor status, but rather they will prescribe for themselves a penalty of their citizen rights, and that fittingly, as persons who have not satisfied the just claim of the prefectural order and of the common good of all.¹

11 The restoration of ἐν ἀναχωρ]ήσει here and of ἐξ ἀναχω]ρήσεως in 18-19 suits what is known of the bad

period through which Alexandria passed c.250-75, see H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung* 210-13, but it is conjectural and does not therefore actually contribute to the evidence.

16 θεῖαν. The first four letters or so have been heavily overwritten.

20-2 The restoration, see 9n., is particularly hazardous here. Another line of thought might be that officers were to be deprived of councillor status and also fined; e.g. ζήμ]ῶν at the beginning of 22. For ἐπιτιμ]ῶν cf. *XLIII* 3105 7-8.

21 βουλευτικῆς ἀξίας, cf. e.g. *SEG* XII 95. 43-4. In the papyri the phrase is known only from its restoration, βουλευτικῆς ἀξίας, in another damaged context in *SB* IV 7261. 2; cf. A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 30 n. 28. See also βουλευτικῶ ἀξιώματος, in the same sense, in P. Beatty Panop. 1. 372, 400.

26 A fleck of ink on the right-hand edge may be part of the day-number, but the distance from the month-name is so great that it seems more likely that the day was never written and that the trace is stray ink.

3614. JUDGEMENT OF SEVERUS

A a²/11(c)1

14 × 9.5 cm

Third century

The papyrus presents two extracts from a judgement delivered by Septimius Severus in Alexandria in the early part of 200, during the famous visit which has left so many traces of his legal activity in the papyri, see the lists in P. Col. VI pp. 27-30, add *XLII* 3018, 3019, *XLIII* 3105, P. Mich. IX 529. 39-53, and *BASP* 6 (1969) 17-19 = *SB* X 10537; cf. F. G. B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* 244-5. Only *XLII* 3019 and 3614 have a framework which identifies them as coming from proceedings before the emperor, the others being in the main *responsa* or edicts.

The introductory formula is most unusual in telling us that on this occasion the emperor delivered his judgement in Latin, see 3n.

The first extract states that procurators shall be required to lease tax concessions at prices which are fair for the current conditions and not by reference to the sums for which the concessions had been leased in past years. The second extract relates to the appointment of *ἐπιτηρηταί*, but the damage to the papyrus, which is broken at the foot and to the left, makes it uncertain what point is at issue.

For this type of text in general see R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* (Pap. Brux. 4; 1966), and for an account of our knowledge of imperial hearings see F. G. B. Millar, *op. cit.* 228-40.

The handwriting, a good rounded cursive, looks as if it belongs still to the third century. The back is blank.

Κεσύρῳ κ]αὶ Οὐκτωρεῖνω ὑπάτοις πρὸ μιᾶς νωνῶν

7-8] ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ. μετ' ἄλλα. Καίσαρ κειψάμε-
 νος μετὰ τῶν φίλων τῆ πατρίω φωνῇ ἀπεφῆνατο,
 ἀναγ]γρὸς ἐκ βιβλίου, "οἱ μὲν ἐπίτροποι ἡμῶν ἔξου-
 5 σιν δι' ἀ φροντίδος μεθοῦ[ν] τὰ τέλη μετὰ πίστρεως οὐ πρὸς
 . . .] . . . κεφάλαιον οὐ ἐμεμίχθωτο τοῖς πα[ρ]ελθοῦ-
 σιν ἔνια]γροῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν ποσότητα τῆς
 6-7] ξως". μεθ' ἕτερα. "τοῦς ἐπιτηρητὰς ἀρκοῦντω
 7-8]ς τριετι[. . .] καθίστασθαι αὐτῆ ἡμῶν ἢ ἀπό-
 10 φαις c. 18 letters] . . .]εῖ", κα[] τὰ ἐξής.

1 οὐκτωρεῖνωπάτοις
 to act as a filler sign

6 At the end a horizontal filler sign

10 Cap of final sigma prolonged

In the consulship of Severus and Victorinus, first day before the Nones of . . . in Alexandria. After other matters: Caesar, after deliberation with his friends, delivered judgement in his native tongue, reading from a paper, "Our procurators shall take care to lease taxes in good faith, by reference not to (some other?) sum at which they had been leased in past years, but to the specific amount of the (valuation?)." After yet more matters: "This (judgement?) of ours (gives the order?) to appoint for a three-year period superintendants who are sufficiently (wealthy?) . . .", and so on.¹

1-2 For the heading cf. XLII 3019 2-5. At the beginning of 2 space is too short for *Ἰανουαρίων* or *Φεβρουαρίων*; therefore either *Μαρτίων* (= 6 March 200) or *Ἀπριλίων* (= 4 April 200) is possible. See P. Col. VI pp. 27, 30, for the duration of Severus' visit to Alexandria. Caracalla, who accompanied his father to Egypt, reached his twelfth birthday on 4 April 200, cf. *PLR*² iv 313-14 (I 663; Julia Domna). Undoubtedly there would be celebrations in the imperial household, compare the festivities for the birthday of Severus Alexander in the remote region of Syene (*W. Chr.* 41 iii 8-16) and the Christians condemned to the beasts for Geta's birthday in the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas (*H. Musurillo, Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 8, 7, 9), but we cannot say for certain that Severus would not have transacted judicial business on that day. Professor Millar draws my attention to a passage of Dio, who says that in peace time it was the daily habit of Severus to hold hearings unless there were some great festival (*Dio* 76. 17. 1 *ἐν ἑδίκαις, χωρὶς εἰ μὴ τις ἑορτὴ μεγάλη εἶη*).

2 μετ' ἄλλα. Cf. μεθ' ἕτερα (8). Both are well-known formulae indicating where the original record has been cut, see R. A. Coles, *Proceedings* 48 and n. 3.

2-3 κειψάμε[νος μετὰ] τῶν φίλων. This is a well-known formula, see Coles, *Proceedings* 51; *JEA* 21 (1935) 225-6; 240-1. On the *apud* see F. G. B. Millar, *op. cit.* 110-22, esp. 119-22, for their legal functions.

3 τῆ πατρίω φωνῇ. Severus was competent or better in Greek as well as Latin and is supposed to have spoken fluent Punic, see A. J. Birley, *Septimius Severus* 60-1, add *Dio* 76. 17. 2. The only parallel discovered so far is a phrase introducing a proconsul's judgement in the martyrdom of Pionius (20. 7): καὶ ἀπὸ πνακίδος ἀνεγνώθη *Ρωμαῖστί*, see H. Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs* 162. The proceedings are set in Smyrna, where they would probably have been conducted largely in Greek. Delivery of judgement in Latin after proceedings in Greek would be part of the effort to achieve an authoritative text to serve as a precedent, like the drafting of a written text of the judgement before delivery, see 4 n. It seems to me likely that this was so much a matter of course as usually to be passed over in silence, but it might be argued that these two cases were exceptional.

4 ἀναγ]γρὸς ἐκ βιβλίου. I have not found this wording elsewhere, but a similar procedure is implied by the cases cited in Coles, *Proceedings* 51 and n. 4. Of these the closest is Bruns, *Fontes*² no. 186. 11-12 *Rufus leg(atus) c(um) c(onsilio) c(ollocutus) decretum ex titia recitavit*. In another case the presiding judge wrote the judgement on a tablet and ordered it to be read out (*SB* VI 9016 i 12-14, μετὰ τὰ λεχθέντα *Λυσιμαχος ἐν πνακίδι διαγράψας*

ἀπόφασις ἐκέλευεν ἀναγνώσθην κατὰ λέξιν οὕτως ἔχουσαν). In four other cases the judge, after consultation, dictated the judgement, which was then read out. These are P. Tebt. II 286. 15-18, CPR I 18 (= M. Chr. 84). 23-5, VIII 1102 5 6, BGU II 592 ii 4-5. The wording is very similar in all four, but the fullest is P. Tebt. II 286. 15-18, as restored in VIII 1102 5 n., ἀνακ[τὰ]ς εἰς κυμαβούλιον (or -ἄνω?) καὶ κειψάμε[νος μετὰ] τῶν φίλων [π]α[ρ]ο[φ]η[τ]ῶν [ὑ]πηγάρ]ευεν ἀπόφασις ἢ καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη κατὰ λέξιν ὁσ[τ]ι ἔχουσα. All this is guaranteed by the parallels except for ἀνακ[τὰ]ς εἰς κυμαβούλιον (or -ἄνω), and this phrase looks as if it states something which is merely implied by the rest, that is, that the judge retired with his advisers to consider the case and prepare a written version, rather than consulting them in the public court.

Professor Millar has pointed out that there are many parallels in H. Musurillo, *Acts of the Christian Martyrs*. The phrase *decretum ex tabella recitavit* occurs three times (M. 6. 14; 11. 4. 3; 17. 3. 1), which suggests to Professor Millar that *titia* in Bruns, *Fontes*² no. 186. 12, see above, is a misreading of *tabella*. Other comparable passages are: καὶ ἀπὸ πνακίδος ἀνεγνώσθη *Ρωμαῖστί* (M. 10. 20. 7), cf. 3 n. above; καὶ τὴν ἀπόφασις ἐκ χάροτος ἀνέγνω (M. 22. 4. 4); καὶ αὐτῆς χάροτον, πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπόφασις ἔγραψεν (M. 22. 6. 3); *sententiam de libello legit* (M. 24. 4. 1); *intra velum interius ingrediens sententiam dicitavit. et foras egressus, afferens tabellam, legit* (M. 25B. 3. 1).

The last passage is reminiscent of the four papyri with ὑπηγάρευεν ἀπόφασις, see above. *De libello* in M. 24. 4. 1 is virtually equivalent to ἐκ βιβλίου here.

ἡμῶν, cf. 9. Severus probably intends to include Caracalla, who in spite of his youth, see 1-2 n, was already his father's colleague. Caracalla's name is normally attached to imperial pronouncements of this period, see P. Col. VI pp. 4, 6, 28.

4-8 In spite of uncertainties at the beginnings of ll. 6 and 8, see nn., the principle enunciated is clear. The prices of tax contracts farmed out to lessees are to be set fairly by reference to current conditions, not on the basis of any sum paid in previous years. Equally clear is the implication that this is an answer to a complaint against compulsory appointment to the position of tax-farmer. This was a perennial problem in Roman provincial administration, see e.g. G. Chalon, *L'Édit de Ti. Julius Alexander* 101-9. Especially revealing are the legal rulings cited in n. 36, pp. 108-9. Most prohibit compulsion, to which the notable exception is *D.* 39. 4. 11. 5, yet it is evident that compulsion continued to be applied from time to time.

4-5 ἔξουσιν διὰ φροντίδος, 'shall take care to', cf. LSJ s.v. *διά*, A.IV. Marcus and Verus had already formulated the same principle, though it is applied to sales by the fiscus, not to leases of tax contracts. Their rescript is worth quoting for the help it may afford to the restoration of this text: *D.* 49. 14. 35, *Divi fratres rescripserunt in venditionibus fiscalibus fidem et diligentiam a procuratore exigendam et iusta pretia non ex praeterita emptione, sed ex praesenti aestimatione constituit. sicut enim diligenti cultura pretia praediorum ampliantur, ita, si negligentius habitata sint, minus ea necesse est. Even earlier the same principle was applied by Hadrian to leases of state land: Ἀδριανού . . . στήσαντος τὴν βασιλικὴν γῆν καὶ δημοσίαν καὶ οὐσιακὴν γῆν κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκάστης καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παλαιῦ προστάγματος γεωργεῖσθαι, see P. Giss. 4. 6-10, cf. P. Lips. inv. 266 (*APF* 5 (1913) 245).*

6 The translation is based on the conjectural restoration *ἐπιτηρητῶν* [τῶν], which is a stopgap.

8 The translation uses the conjectural restoration *ἐπιτηρητῶν*, based on the phrase *ex praesenti aestimatione* in the Digest passage quoted in 4-5 n. Unsold state land, which could be leased out, was valued by liturgical officials, see *W. Chr.* 398, M. Rostowzew, *Röm. Kolonat* 150. A similar procedure may have been adopted for tax contracts. Other possibilities are *αἰρέσει*, *ὑποχέσει* (both meaning 'bid at auction'), and *μετέσει*; many more might be thought of.

8-10 In spite of their title *ἐπιτηρητῶν* are found issuing receipts and acting as collectors rather than as supervisors, see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 288, but the office was a compulsory service, see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 29-31 s.v. The juxtaposition in this judgement of sections on compulsion in tax-farming and on appointment of *ἐπιτηρητῶν* suggests the guess that, when it became difficult to find bidders for taxes customarily farmed, procurators had *ἐπιτηρητῶν* appointed to collect the tax at the previous rate precisely because liturgists were compulsorily appointed and had to make up deficiencies out of their own pockets.

The translation adopts the following text, restored partially and by conjecture: τοῦς ἐπιτηρητὰς ἀρκούντως [εἰσ]άρων εἰς τριετι[αν] καθίστασθαι αὐτῆ ἡμῶν ἢ ἀπόφαις κειψάμε. Mr Parsons suggested [εἰσ]άρων εἰς τριετι[αν]. The adjective is a regular technical term for the financial capability of liturgists.

A three-year *ἐπιτήρησις* is clearly mentioned in PSI XII 1245. 21 (τῶν ὀριζμένων τριετῆ χρόνον), and it ran in that case over the Egyptian years 203/4, 204/5, and 205/6. A document of 139 seems to envisage the same length of time, P. Amh. II 77 (= *W. Chr.* 277). 7-9 Πολυδούκου τετραετεί ἦδη χρόνω παρὰ τὰ ἀπειρημένα ἐπιτηροῦντος τὴν προκειμένην πῆλην, but it is not certain that the illegality began only in the fourth year.

A one-year *ἐπιτήρησις* for 236/7 is concerned in BGU IV 1062 = W. Chr. 276. These references are given in Lewis, loc. cit.

αὐτή may be possible instead of *αὐτή*, and *ἀπόφρασις* likewise is not certain, though attractive. 10] . [.]_{ετ}. The trace is a high riser which would suit iota, kappa, phi, and possibly psi, though it is not like the psi in 2. This may be the verb conjecturally represented by *κελεύει* in the last note.

The manner of writing the last letter, see app. crit., and the sense of the last phrase show that this is the end of a section, but there is no means of guessing what or how much may have followed.

3615. OFFICIAL LETTER

5 1B.44/D(a)

10.5 × 9.5 cm

Third century

The title of an official, wrongly read and restored in its only other appearance, can be recovered from this document as *ἐπιτηρητής ἡγεμονικῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ ἄλλων*. In XVII 2116 2, read now *ἐ]πιστρο[λ]ῶν* for] *πλορίων*, see 2–3 n. Little more than the prescript survives here, but the body of the letter begins in much the same way as that of 2116—there *οὐς ἐπέμψατε . . . λόγους*, here *ἃ ἐπέμψ[α]ς . . . βιβλία*, from which we may probably conclude that this too was an acknowledgement of the receipt of records sent to Alexandria to be filed.

The sender in this case was a royal scribe of the Hermopolite nome, Aurelius Hierax alias Sarapion, unknown to the lists of H. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, and G. Mussies, *Supplément* (in P. Lugd. Bat. XIV 13–46). Possibly he was an Oxyrhynchite who brought home some official papers from his stay in Hermopolis. A man with the same combination of common names, a councillor, ex-gymnasiarch, and ex-prytanis of Oxyrhynchus, is mentioned in PSI XII 1249. 14–16, as the father of one of the parties to a contract of 265.

The date of this papyrus must be after the end of 214, when the use of the name Aurelius began to be common in Egypt as a result of the *constitutio Antoniniana*, see JEA XLVIII (1962) 128–9. If, as recent researches suggest, see ZPE 19 (1975) 119 n. 41, the office of royal scribe disappeared during the reforms of Philip the Arabian, the *terminus ante quem* would be 249.

The back is blank. A join is visible running parallel to and about 1.5 cm away from the right-hand edge of the front.

Ἀυρήλιος Κλαύδιος Λυκαρίων ὁ καὶ
 Σαραπάμμων ἐπιτηρητῆς ἡγεμο-
 νικῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ ἄλλων
 Ἀυρηλίῳ Ἰέρακι τῷ καὶ Σαραπί-
 5 ωνι βασιλ(ικῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ) Ἐρμοπολ(ίτου) τῷ φιλ-
 τάτῳ (vac.) χαίρειν.
 ἃ ἐπέμψ[α]ς . . . ἰα βιβλία κα-
 ταχ[ωρις] θηρό[μενα]

4 ἰερακι

5 βασιλ γρβ ερμοπολ

‘Aurelius Claudius Lycarion alias Sarapammon, overseer of prefectural letters and other matters, to Aurelius Hierax alias Sarapion royal scribe of the Hermopolite nome, his dearest colleague, greeting.’

‘The . . . records which you sent to be filed . . .’

2–3 The rare title leaves much obscure. In both instances, cf. introd., the official is apparently concerned with the registration of records reaching Alexandria from the districts, rather than with what we might expect from the title, the correspondence of the prefect. In P. Strasb. inv. 31 + 32 recto iv 18 (= *Archiv* 4 (1908) 123) there is mention of records registered in Alexandria *ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιτηρητοῦ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν*, who seems very likely to have held the same office. The form of this reference perhaps implies that there was a single official with the title and not a board, cf. N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services* s.v. *ἐπιτηρητής*. Wilcken suggested in *Archiv* 4 (1908) 127 n. 6 that the same official is also meant in the repeated entry *ἐπιτηρητῆ ὑπὲρ καταπομπῆς μνησίου* in BGU II 362 (= W. Chr. 96). In all these cases the records in question are intimately connected with the revenues of the province, not at all what we should have expected from the title. The contrast of name and function recalls the Byzantine *cura epistolarum*, who handled financial correspondence, though these appear to belong, not to provincial administrations, but only to the *officia* of vicars and prefects, see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* i 565–6, cf. 459, 587–8, 590.

7 . . . ἰα. The two or three letters before ἰα, though written fast, are comparatively well preserved, so that a good suggestion could be verified. Not *δημόσια* or *μνησίου*.

3616. WANTED NOTICE FOR A RUNAWAY SLAVE

23 3B.1/M(4–7)a

16 × 9.5 cm

Third century?

The notice requires anyone finding the slave whose description is given to deliver him to the army in exchange for a reward. For runaway slaves in the papyri see I. Biezuńska-Malowitz, *L'Esclavage* ii 140–3, ead. *Studi E. Volterra* vi 75–90; for the Roman period in general see H. Bellen, *Studien zur Sklavenflucht*.

It is unfortunate that several of the details here and in 3617 are obscured by damage, since the only other such notice surviving is UPZ I 121 of 156 BC. However, the procedure by way of a *πρόγραμμα* or *libellus propositus* is already well documented, cf. SB VI 9532. 10–12; BGU VIII 1774. 12–15; P. Harr. I 62. 6; Biezuńska-Malowitz, *L'Esclavage* ii. 141, *Studi Volterra* vi 86–8; Bellen, op. cit. 7–8, and there are parallels for most of the discernible details, see commentary. Worth comparing is P. Lond. VII 2052, of the middle of the third century BC, which contains descriptions of four missing slaves but is not a public document and promises no reward. Other recent documents relating to runaway slaves are P. Beatty Panop. 1. 149–52 and P. Turner 41.

It seems not unlikely that 3616 is actually the notice posted in public, rather than a formula. It resembles other papyri with texts of public notices in being written in a good clear documentary hand without any pretension to calligraphy. Palaeographically it is close to XXXIII 2664 (pl. viii), of c. 245–8, but it may be somewhat later, probably in the second half of the third century, and possibly in the early part of the fourth. In format, however, it more resembles XL 2924 (pl. iii), which measures 19 × 9.5 cm. This may be illusory to some extent, since the bottom of 2924 is broken off, but its text seems to be drawing to a close. Here a lower margin of c. 3 cm survives, though the foot is much worn. The back is blank.

The text strongly resembles a passage in Lucian, *Fugitivi* §27, spoken by Hermes in the character of a herald: *εἴ τις <εἶδεν> ἀνδράποδον Παφλαγονικῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Συνώπης*

βαρβάρων, ὄνομα τοιούτων οἶον ἀπὸ κτημάτων—a joke, cf. §26, προσκαλὼν Κτήριωνας ἢ Κτηρίππου κτλ.—ὑπαρχων, ἐν χρώ̄ κουρίαν, ἐν γενεῖω βαθεῖ, πύραν ἐξημμένον καὶ τριβώνιον ἀμπερόμενον, ὄργιλον, ἀμουσον, τραχύφωνον, λοιδόρον, μηνύειν ἐπὶ ῥητῶ̄ αὐτονόμου. OCT (M. D. Macleod, vol. iii, 1980) supplies εἶδεν (Fritzsche). Our text begins εἴ [τι]ς [ε]ῖδεν. It is likely that this was a formula, which Lucian also used.

εἴ [τι]ς [ε]ῖδεν δοῦλον ὀνόματι Φίλιππον, ψ,
ὡς ἐτών ιδ', λευκόχροον, ψελλόν, πλατύρουχον,
μ . [.] . [.] . . αε . , ψ, ἐνδεδυμένον στιχάριον
ἐρεο[ῶ]ν παχὺ[ν] καὶ βάλτιον ἀπὸ χρήσεως
5 ε]νφεγκάτω ἐν τῷς ζήνοις λαμβάνων
.] (vac.?)

1 φιλιππον 2 πλατυρουχον; 1. πλατύρουχον 4 βαλτιον 5 -ε]νφεγκάτω

'If any person has found a slave called Philippus, . . . , about fourteen years old, pale-skinned, speaking badly, broad-nosed, having(?) . . . , wearing a thick(?) woollen tunic and a used shoulder-belt, he should (report?, deliver him?) at army headquarters and receive . . . '

1 ψ. Here we might expect the nationality of the slave, cf. 2 n., 3617 1, or possibly his trade, if he had one. For nationalities see *CE* 46 (1971) 363–6; for trades *Historia* 26 (1977) 74–88.

2 λευκόχροον. For the spelling cf. Mayer, *Grammatik*² i 2, 57–8. This description may suggest that the boy was of non-Egyptian origin, cf. A. Caldara, 'I connotati personali', *Studi della Scuola Papirologica* (Milan, 1926) iv. 2, 55. See also 1 n. and below on ψελλόν. However, it may be used chiefly because it is unflattering, see A. W. Gomme–F. H. Sandbach, *Menander: A Commentary* 654 (on *Sicyonius* 200), and cf. 3617 introd.

ψελλόν. As examples of the mispronunciations implied by this word *LsJ* gives πιττεῦο for πιετῆο and ἄρτον for ἄρκτον. Spellings indicating such mispronunciations can be found in fair numbers in the papyri, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 130, 65. In this case, however, they amounted to a distinguishing feature, which may again indicate non-Egyptian origin, cf. 1 n. and above on λευκόχροον.

In *Acte* 27 (1974) 314 M. Vandoni pointed out that although the papyrological dictionaries do not list the word, it has been wrongly treated as a name in two, perhaps three, places. We should read *Κωσιβίω τῷ ψελ[λ]ῶ* in P. Ryl. IV 588. 6 and *Καβόν τὸν ψελλόν* in P. Fay. 119. 8; *Ψέλλον* in a fragmentary context in P. Fay. 110. 21 is doubtful. We should also be doubly suspicious of the doubtful readings of SB V 7966 (*τὸ προσκέννημα Ψέλλου Ἀπολιναρίου*) and P. Cair. Masp. III 67303. 23 (*Ψέλλωσ Ἰσακίου*).

πλατύρουχον. Cf. Timocl. 14. 7 ('broad-snouted', of a fish, the *καπέρδης*), Arist. *PA* 662b12 ('broad-billed', of water birds). For the simplification of *pp* to *p* see Mayer–Schmoll i. 1, 187–8, F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 156.

3 μ . [.] . [.] . . αε . , ψ. The end looks as if *ἔχων* was written originally and then written over, possibly to correct it to *ἔχοντα*. If so, this might still be part of the physical description, cf. 3617 5, 7, on the lines of *μῆλα μεγάλα* (or *μείζονα*) *ἔχοντα*, cf. P. Petrie I 14. 45 (= III 6a), III 1. 24 (= I 21), or it might possibly concern property stolen by the slave, cf. UPZ I 121. 9–10 *ἔχων χρυσίου ἐπισήμου μοναῖα γ, κτλ.* Neither of these possibilities has suggested any wholly satisfactory reading and restoration.

4 παχὺ[ν]. The fact that the only certain letter is put between braces shows how doubtful this reading is. However, pi and chi are almost unavoidable, though badly damaged; alpha is more suitable than any other vowel, and hypsilon, the most doubtful, seems to suit the other examples of the letter well enough. Intrusive nasals are very common, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 112–14, cf. *Akten d. XIII. Papyrologenkongresses* 141–3, but the only close parallel I have found—from Mayer–Schmoll i. 1, 172 (d)—is P. Amh. II 59. 7, *ἡμυ(ν)*.

ἀπὸ χρήσεως. Cf. Diocl., *Edictum de pretiis* vii 55, 57, 59, 61, 63, with *ἀπὸ χρήσεως* answering to *ab usū*; P. Fouad I 74. 6 *στιχάριον . . . ἀπὸ ὀλίγης χρήσεως*.

5 ε]νφεγκάτω. The meaning might be either that the finder is to produce the slave (*παραφέρειν vel sim.*) or simply to lay information (*ἀναφέρειν vel sim.*, cf. Lucian, *Fugitivi* §27, *μηνύειν*), see UPZ I 121 introd., p. 569.

The space suggests that about four letters, possibly five, are lost before -ε]νφεγκάτω. Possibly the verb was a double compound.

ἐν τῷς ζήνοις. For references to *ζήνον* = *signum* see S. Daris, *Lessico latino* s.v. See especially P. Lond. VI 1914. 18 n. on the associations of the word and its passage into Coptic and even Arabic in the sense of 'prison'.

For the role of the army in the pursuit of runaway slaves see H. Bellen, op. cit. 11–13.

If the verb means 'deliver' rather than 'report', ε]ν indicates 'motion towards', cf. Mayer, *Grammatik* ii. 2, 372–3 (§111.3 b). It has that sense in the same phrase in P. Lond. VI 1914. 18.

6 This line specified the sum of money offered as a reward, cf. UPZ I 121. 13–14, 24–5; H. Bellen, op. cit. 7–8. There are some traces of ink on the papyrus which survives after the broken left edge. They are so slight that they are probably offsets, but it may be that the amount of money was written out here in words, instead of being written, as I have supposed, in symbols and numeral letters as in UPZ I 121.

3617. WANTED NOTICE FOR A RUNAWAY SLAVE?

62 6B.76/F(5–6)b

9 × 13.5 cm

Third century

The unflattering description links this papyrus with the previous one, though it must be admitted that descriptions of slaves can be unflattering even when they are not runaways, cf. e.g. XLII 3054 15–17. The fact that an ethnic is given suggests that the person described was a slave and this may have been stated in the small area of damage in l. 1 or at the foot, which is lost. See 3616 introd. for notices of the type envisaged.

The handwriting is a good round official cursive of the third century. Neither it nor the format specially suggests that the sheet was intended to be posted in public, but it may have been, cf. 3616 introd. The back is blank.

. ρος Αἰγύπτιος ἀπ[ὸ
Χευρής τῷ Ἀθρευβίτου νομοῦ τ. [
Ἐλληνιστὶ μὴ εἰδῶς, μακρός, λεπτ[
ψειλόκουρος, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ [μέ-
5 ρους τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχων τραυ[μα
ρον, μελίχρους, ὑπόχλωρος, σπ[ανοσύ-
γαν—τὸ καθ' ὄλον τρίχας μὴ ἔχ[ων
ἐπὶ τοῦ πώγωνος, λεῖος, στε[νός
ἐκ τῶν γνάθων, ἐπίρυν (v.) [
10 τέχνην γέρδιος, περιπα, [
ως καλακάτος ὀξεῖα φωνῇ [
λαλῶν. ἔστιν δὲ ὡς (ἐτών) λβ. [τριβω-
νάρια δὲ φορεῖ ἰδιόχρωμα β. [
ἔχει [.] . ἐπὶ τω[
.] . [

2 1. Ἀθρευβίτου

4 1. ψειλόκουρος

9 1. ἐπίρυν

12 L λβ

13 ἰδιόχρωμα

...rus, an Egyptian, from (the village of?) Chenres in the Athribite nome, utterly (?) ignorant of Greek, tall, lean (?), smooth-shorn, with a slight (?) wound on the left side of the head, honey-complexioned, somewhat pale, with a scanty beard—(or rather) with no hair at all to his beard, smooth-skinned, narrow in the jaws, long-nosed. By trade a weaver, he walks around as if he were somebody important, chattering in a shrill voice. He is about 32 years old. He wears undyed (and ragged?) clothes. He has on the . . .

1 Part of the blank top margin is preserved above the end of the line. UPZ I 121. 2-3 has *παῖς ἀνακεχώρηκεν φ᾽ ὄνομα κτλ.*, but even this is too long if the text began in this column. If this were one of a series of such notices, perhaps the verb could have been omitted, to give something like *παῖς φ᾽ ὄνομα Ἰσρος*. The traces, which are tiny and scattered over twisted and broken fibres, do not permit verification.

At the end of the line restore *ἀπ[ὸ κόμης* or simply *ἀπ[ὸ* followed by the beginning of a longish village name.

2 *Χενρής*. Unknown. Also possible is (-) *χενρής*, part of a longer village name, see previous note. None suitable is to be found in F. Dornseiff-B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*.

At the end of the line restore perhaps *τῷ [καθ' ὄλον*, cf. 7-8.

3 (*Διγύπτιος*) *Ἑλληνιστὴ μὴ εἰδώς*. He was probably not unusual in this respect, see W. Peremans, 'Über die Zweisprachigkeit', in *Festschrift Oertel* 49-60, R. Taubenschlag, 'The Interpreters in the Papyri', *Op. Min.* ii 167-70.

Restore *λεπ[ύς*, or a compound of this word.

5-6 Perhaps restore *μικ[ρόν]*, 'a slight wound', but there must be many more possibilities.

8-9 For *στε[νός]* *ἐκ τῶν γνάθων*, 'narrow in the jaws', cf. LSJ s.v. *ἐκ* I, 6 *ad fin.*, and *πλατὸς ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων*, 'broad in the shoulders', UPZ I 121. 19.

9 At the end of the line a short blank space before the edge may indicate strong punctuation. If so, something on the lines of *[ὡν δὲ] τέχνην γέρδιος περιπατ[εῖ]* may be preferable to *[τῆν] τέχνην γέρδιος, περιπατ[ὶν]*.

On *ἐπίρην* = *ἐπίρριν* cf. 3616 2 n. on *πλατύρρινχον*. The word is not in the papyrological dictionaries at all. The nominative ending in *nu* is not in LSJ or Suppl., but takes its place with other compounds based on *ρίς*, cf. E. Maysner, *Grammatik* i, p. 213, 2 i. 2, p. 44 and n. 1, p. 56, 2 i. 3, p. 188, Maysner-Schmoll i. 1, p. 188, F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 141.

11 *καλακάτος*. *Add. lexx.* This is evidently connected with *καλάων*, 'pretentious person', glossed in the *Suda* s.v. with *προσποιούμενος πλούσιος εἶναι, πένης ὄν*, cf. H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus* s.v. Mr Parsons draws my attention to its use by Cicero, *ad Fam.* vii 24 (ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, vol. ii, no. 260). 2. The form here looks like a genitive, since the ending *-ác* gave rise to many new coinages in the Greek of the post-Ptolemaic period, see L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 49-50, but I find the text hard to restore on that basis. Perhaps we should emend to *ὡς καλακάς*, as assumed for the translation. If not, *ωσ* might be the end of an adverb such as *σκαίως*, with a vowel before the omega, and *καλακάτος* might go with what follows, 'he walks awkwardly, chattering in the shrill voice of a boaster'.

11-12 The end of the line may have been blank or we may need a compound of *λαλεῖν*, e.g. *καταλαλῶν, περιλαλῶν*, see P. Kretschmer-E. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wb.*, 570, for these and other possibilities. Mr Parsons suggests [*ἀεί*, or another adverb, as an alternative way of filling the space.

12-13 [*τριβω*] *νάματα* seems the best possibility, cf. Kretschmer-Locker, op. cit. 164. The word has not yet appeared in the papyrological dictionaries, but see LSJ and Suppl., s.v. *τριβυνάριον*, which is probably a bad variant spelling.

13-14 Restore perhaps *ῥά[κινα vel sim.*, since the next line looks as if it begins *ἔχει [δ]ὲ ἐπὶ κτλ.*

3618. OFFICIAL LETTER

5 1B.44/C(d)

7.5 × 13 cm

305-10

The recipient of this fragmentary letter is asked, probably, to report in writing the names of persons liable to a levy of a commodity which was to be used by the imperial mint at Alexandria. The name of the commodity is new and its nature not certain, see 12 n. The senders of the letter were probably two syndics and a prytanis, see 1-4 n. The

orders for the levy rested on the imperial authority of Galerius Augustus and Maximinus Caesar and were transmitted by the *magister privatae* Neratius Apollonides, whose known tenure of office is perhaps extended, see 6-7 n.

The back is blank.

Ἀὐρ]ήλιος Διός, [c. 20 letters
 βου]λευτῆς ἑναρχο[ς πρύτανις c. 10 letters
 καὶ Μάξιμος . . [c. 20 letters
 καὶ λαμ[προτάτης] Ὀξυ[ρ]ινγχιτῶν πόλεως c. 10 letters
 5 *Κιλβανῶ γραμμα[τεῖ]* c. 17 letters
 ὁ διακημότατος μ[άγιστρος τῆς πριουάτης
Νεράτιος Ἀπολ[λωνίδης] c. 13 letters
προσέτ[α]ξ[εν] . . ιτο . . [c. 15 letters?
τῶν δεσπο[τῶν] ἡμῶ[ν] Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 10 *καὶ Μαξιμίν[ου] Καίσαρο[ς]* c. 15 letters?
τοῦ ἐτη[σίως] ἐπιβλη[θέντος τῷ νομῷ
ξυλοσαγγ[άθου] κεντηνα[ρίων] (-?) χιλίων
τῆν συνάθρο[ι]ων καὶ κα[τακομιδῆν] (?) ποιεί-
σθαι προχωρ[οῦν]τος εἰς [c. 15 letters?
 15 *ἱεράς μονήτης. διὸ ἐδ[ηλώσαμεν καὶ*
κοὶ ὄπως ἐγγράφως δηλ[ώσης ἡμῖν τοὺς
ὑπευθύνους τῆ εἰσφο[ρᾶ] τοῦ ἐπιβληθέντος
τῷ νομῷ ξυλοσαγγάθου κ[εντηναρίων] c. 5 letters?
χειλίων μετὰ τὰ εἰσφερ[
 20 *ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως [.] . [*

4 1. Ὀξυρινγχιτῶν 12 ξυλοσαγγάθου 15 ἱερας 16 ἐγγράφως 17 ὑπευθύνους
 18 ξυλοσαγγάθου

'Aurelius Dios . . . councillor, (prytanis) in office, (and So-and-so?) and Maximus . . . (syndics?) of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, to (Aurelius?) Silvanus secretary . . .

The most perfect *magister privatae* Neratius Apollonides, (in conformity with the orders given by?) the . . . of our masters Galerius Augustus and Maximinus Caesar, (has ordered us?) to make collection and dispatch of the *xylasangathum*, to the amount of . . . thousand hundredweight, annually imposed upon the nome to go to (the service of) the imperial mint. Therefore we have (also?) informed you so that you may inform us, in writing, of those who are liable to the contribution of the *xylasangathum*, to the amount of . . . thousand hundredweight, imposed upon the nome, after the . . . from the city . . .'

1-4. Comparison with the other two documents mentioning the *magister privatae* Neratius Apollonides (XXXIII 2665, 2673) suggests that the senders of this letter were the prytanis in office and the syndics. See also M. Chr. 196, where the orders come from a *praecurator privatae*, and PSI IV 310, as revised in *CE* 49 (1974) 170, where a receipt relating to the *ratio privatae* was issued to the prytanis and syndics of Heracleopolis. Cf. A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 49.

The name of the prytanis of 306/7 would fit well into 1-2, i.e. Ἀδρήλιος Δίος[χορος δὲ καὶ Ἑλλάδιος γυμ(ασιάρχ-)]¹²[βου]λευτῆς ἐναρχο[ς πρύτανις, cf. XLIV 3192, though see below for some major doubts. After ἐναρχο[ς πρύτανις in 2 there is room for about ten letters, not enough for καὶ Ἀδρήλιος plus a name. Probably Ἀδρήλιος in 1 should have been Ἀδρήλιος, in which case the end of 2 had simply καὶ and a name of about seven letters. Line 3 could have ended with εὐδοκίᾳ τῆς λαμ(πράς), preceded by other titles abbreviated, e.g. γυμ[μβέβδ], or we could restore εὐδοκίᾳ βουλ(ευνταί) τῆς λαμ(πράς). These would give twenty-two or nineteen letters, which agree well enough with the virtually certain restoration of twenty letters in 6 and with the twenty letters proposed for 1.

The name of Maximus in 3 recalls the syndic in 2665 5 (...]μω ed. pr.; perhaps Δεδύ[μω BL VI 111]. If they are the same, the possibility arises that the syndic here in 2 might have been the Sarapion of 2665 5, but in that case the order of names and the layout of the titles would be different.

The consideration of the date of the papyrus is complicated. Limits are provided by the mention of Maximinus Caesar in 10. He was appointed on the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian on 1 May 305 and became Augustus some time in 310. Like Constantine he was given the title of *filii Augustorum* at the conference of Carnuntum in November 308, but that title could possibly have been lost at the end of 10 here, cf. XLVI 3270 28, and therefore no conclusion can be based on its presumed absence.

The name of the prytanis of 306/7 fits well here, cf. XLIV 3192, and this is perhaps the most likely date. On the other hand the absence of the mention of any western ruler may indicate rather a date in 308, see 9-10. It may be, therefore, that Aurelius Dioscorus alias Helladius served as prytanis also in 307/8, cf. 3606 introd., or it may be that the remains here represent a different name, such as Δίος or Διοσκοουρίδης, or, if it is a Dioscorus, that this Dioscorus had a different alias, such as Hermias, or Serenus, to mention two possibilities which might be significant, see below.

If we go so far in admitting doubt, we must also allow that the document might date from the end of 304/5, for which no prytanis is yet attested. The next year, 305/6, is seemingly excluded by the term of another prytanis (VIII 1104, XXXIII 2665, cf. P. Cornell 45), but evidence is accumulating for the occasional appearance of two prytanics in one regnal year, see 3606 introd. 307/8 is free, because the Hermias mentioned in XLIV 3193, which is undated, though tentatively assigned to this year, might have served in any year during the term as logistes of Valerius Heron alias Sarapion, whose successor is first known on 16 March 313 (XLVI 3305), i.e. for our purposes 307/8, 308/9 (if he was called Hermias alias Serenus, see below), 309/10, 310/11. 308/9 is occupied by a prytanis with the alias Serenus, see M. Chr. 196, P. Mert. II 90, but the traces here could suit, e.g. Dioscorus alias Serenus. No prytanis is known for 309/10 or 310/11. See the list for this period in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 133-4, 137.

4 At the end of the line restore probably Ἀδρήλιος.

5 γραμματεῖ. This word seems certain, but it is not certain what the post was. Α γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως still existed at this period, see XXXIII 2667 10 (309); contrast P. Mertens, *L'État civil* 2-7. There was also a γραμματεὺς πολιτικῶν (XII 1413, XLIV 3185), on whom see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 38. The title γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς does not appear to have existed at Oxyrhynchus, see *ibid.* 39. This line, which is the end of the prescript, may have been shorter than usual.

6-7 Neratius Apollonides, *magister privatae*, has appeared before in XXXIII 2673 (5 February 304) and 2665 (305/6). This text may carry his term of office forward into 306/7 or 307/8, see 1-4 n., 9-10 n., and so lend force to the suggestion that he is the unnamed *magister* of 9 May 307 mentioned in XLIV 3192 12-13, see n. He might also be the unnamed *magister* mentioned in PSI IV 310 of 11 August 306; see *CE* 49 (1974) 173 for the date.

A very convenient summary of the literature and evidence on the *ratio privata* is to be found in F. G. B. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* 625, 627-30. Note also his doubts of the authenticity of the form *res privata*, which is found only in the codes of Theodosius and Justinian, as applied to this period.

8 The remains in the middle of the line,] νο. [, are intractable. The translation rests on the following partially restored version, δ . . . μ[άγιστρος . . .] . . . [. . . , ἀκολούθως οἰς]¹³ προσέ[α]ξι[εν] κ[αὶ] τὸ . . . [ε. 20]¹⁴ τῶν δεσπο[τ]ῶν ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανῶς Σεβαστοῦ¹⁵ καὶ Μαξιμίνου Καίσαρο[ς, ἐκέλευεν ἡμᾶς. Something on the lines of τὸ θεῖον πρόσταγμα would provide a subject, though πρόσταγμα . . . προστάζει is clumsy. Without these traces ἡ θεῖα διάταξις or ἡ θεῖα τύχη would have seemed quite suitable, and a neuter abstract such as τὸ μεγαλεῖον (used of high officials) is possible, though no satisfactory one has been found. After τὸ the remains suggest hypsilon. Also possible is the pattern δ . . . μάγιστρος . . . προσέταξεν . . . κατὰ κέλευεν . . . τῶν δεσποτῶν.

9 to 10 Only Galerius and Maximinus are mentioned here. Maximian eliminated Severus in spring 307, but Constantine was recognized as Caesar in Egypt long before this. The news reached Caranis between 17 November and 25 December 306, see P. Cair. Isid. 115, 10; 116. 12-16, and reached Oxyrhynchus between 13 October and 30 November, see I 102 21, XIV 1750. Since these places, about sixty miles apart, must have received the news within a period of a few days, we can reasonably say that the news reached Middle Egypt between 17 November and 30 November. He continued to be recognized throughout 306/7, see e.g. P. Grenf. II 78 (= M. Chr. 63). 29-32, SB I 5679. 21-4 (both February/March 307); P. Thead. 10. 16-18 (3 April); XLIV 3192 25-8 (9 May); XII 1542 12 (27 May); P. Cair. Isid. 8. 1-2 (14 June); 45. 1 (June/July); 47. 48-50 (26 August); 46. 9 (3 September—already into the Egyptian year 307/8). Therefore, if 306/7 is the year of this papyrus, see 1-4 n., we must conclude that the absence of mention of a western ruler had no political implications, but showed only that this transaction was regarded as a purely eastern affair.

On the other hand the omission of western rulers may give some reason to be suspicious of the date based on the restoration of the name of the prytanis. Galerius recognized Constantine as Caesar only, and that some time after 29 August 306, as his Egyptian regnal years tell us, cf. above, although Constantine's troops had proclaimed him Augustus at the death of his father Constantius I on 25 July 306. Subsequently, about September 307, Constantine was invested as Augustus by Maximian, but this was not accepted by Galerius and Maximinus, within whose spheres of influence Constantine's name is then omitted for some time, e.g. ILS I 658 (Aquincum; undated); P. Cair. Isid. 87 (29 April 308), 88 (7 May 308), 125 (6 August 308; all from Caranis in Egypt), and for the whole of the Egyptian year 308/9, even while his name appears in consular dates of 309 with the title *filii Augustorum*, his name and regnal-year number are omitted from the regnal-year date-clauses, e.g. XII 1499 7 (5 June 309), P. Cair. Isid. 47. 8, 22 (both 18 June); 48. 7 (14 August). These papyri are dated by regnal years of Galerius and Maximinus only. Note that the dates for this year with three or four numbers, to include Constantine and Licinius, see A. Chastagnol, *La Datation par années régionales égyptiennes à l'époque constantinienne*, in *Caesariodunum x bis*, p. 234, are all retrospective. The consulship of 309, held with Licinius, was attributed to Constantine in the East, but Constantine himself never counted it, see T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire* 25.

If, then, the omission of any western ruler has a political connotation here, we would expect the date to be some time in 308 or 309. To accept this, however, we have to reject the simplest view of the restoration of 1-2. In addition, we begin to get further away from the last known date for the *magister privatae*, cf. 6-7 n.

11 Cf. 17-18 for the restoration of the end of the line.

12 ξυλοσαρχ[άθου]. For the restoration see 18. The form with ξυλο- is new, but confirms that σαρχαθ- is the name of a plant, as suggested in P. Turner 47. 2 n., cf. ἄνηθον, ξυλάνηθον; βάλσαμον, ξυλοβάλσαμον. If τοῦ is recognized correctly in 11, it shows that the gender is either masculine or neuter, excluding the possibility of its being feminine, as envisaged in *LSJ* s.v. *σάργαθον*. The other references to σαρχαθ- or σαρχαθ- are O. Bodl. (Petrie) 262. 5, SPP XX 96. 7 (as corrected in *BASP* 13 (1967) 37) and P. Turner 47. 2, 7. All these documents are in the form of lists which give little clue to the nature of this particular substance. However, in modern Greek *σαρχαθά* is a sort of berberis, see P. Turner 47. 2 n., and this seems to be our best evidence. The use to which this substance might be put in a mint can only be guessed. It might perhaps have been one of the special plants from which charcoal was made, cf. R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, 312. For a short account of ancient minting practices and a bibliography see D. Sellwood, 'Minting', in D. Strong and D. Brown (eds.), *Roman Crafts* (1976) 63-74.

For the number, (?)χιλιών, cf. 18-19 n.

13 κα[τακομιδῆν(?)]. Or, e.g., καταγωγῆν, καταπομπῆν.

14 Supply e.g. (τῆν) ὑπερβίαν τῆς or τὰς χρεῖας τῆς.

15 μονήτης. *LSJ* and *Syllbl.* contain no reference to this word, for the nominative of which I have found no evidence. See E. A. Sophocles, *Lexicon*, s.v. *μονήτα*, G. W. H. Lampe, *PGL*, s.v. *μόνητα*, citing Malalas p. 608, and *AE* 1913, no. 143, a 11, *ibid.* 1924, no. 81, 8-9, both of the reign of Trajan and referring to the same man as ἐπιτροπὸν . . . μονήτης, i.e. *procurator monetae*. The lemma is given as *μονήτη* in H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* 68, with a reference to E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nero, Trajan, and Hadrian*, no. 286, which is the same as *AE* 1924, no. 81.

On the Alexandrian mint and the coinage of this period see *RIC* vi 65-73, 645-86.

18-19 By itself κ[ε]ντηναρίων, cf. 11, is too short to fill the space, so that χειλίων in 19 is virtually certain to be incomplete at the beginning. Numbers from 2,000 to 9,000 are available.

19–20 Restore possibly something like μετὰ τὰ εἰσφερ[όμενα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν]ἰῶ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, sc. κεντρικά ποσα, 'in addition to the (so many hundredweight) contributed also by the inhabitants of the city'. Some levies were divided between the city and the nome in the proportion 1:2, see P. Beatty Panop. 1. 379 and n., cf. XLIII 3121 10–11 and n. The same may well have been the case here.

3619. PROCEEDINGS BEFORE A Praeses Iouiaie

75/89a

fr. 1 c. 15 × 24 cm
fr. 2 c. 19 × 23 cm

c.314–324/5

A single phrase, repeated fourteen times, contains most of the interest of this item. It is, 'Isidorus, u(ir) p(erfectissimus), praes(es) Aeg(ypti) Iouiaie, . . .' Here we have the first contemporary evidence of the existence of the short-lived province of *Aegyptus Iouia*, known otherwise only from the famous list of the provinces contained in a seventh-century manuscript preserved in Verona, the 'Verona List', see T. D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* 201–8, 211. We learn for the first time the name of one of its governors, see Barnes, op. cit. 150, and we also learn the interesting fact that his title was *praeses Aegypti Iouiaie* and not *praefectus Aegypti*.

It seems an obvious conclusion that *Iouia*, named after the dynasty of Diocletian, was 'the twin of *Herculia*', named after the dynasty of Maximian, and therefore founded at the same time, 'after January 314 (P. Cair. Isid. 73) but before 27 December 315 (P. Cair. Isid. 74)', see Barnes, op. cit. 211. If it is right to believe that *Herculia* contained, as well as Middle Egypt, also a large portion of the Eastern Delta, see L 3574 introd., all that is left for *Iouia* is Alexandria and the Western Delta. Now that we see that *Iouia* too was governed by a *praeses*, we are forced to conclude that there was no prefect of Egypt during the period of the existence of *Iouia* and *Herculia*. A recently published Florentine papyrus, PL III 484 (*ZPE* 46 (1982) 261–3), again attests the prefect Julius Julianus, this time with an undoubted date clause of 314. He was probably the last prefect before the division. These provinces were reunited into a province of *Aegyptus*, governed once again by a *praefectus*, at some time after the abdication of Licinius in September 324. We know that Sabinianus, *praeses Herculiae*, was still in office at some time within the year 324 (XLV 3261). The next firmly dated *praefectus Aegypti* is now Tiberius Flavius Laetus, known on 2 February 326 (3620), by which date *Iouia* and *Herculia* must no longer have existed.

The text is a record of proceedings before the *praeses* in which the formal framework is given in Latin while the words of the participants are given mostly in Greek. The judge in these cases usually speaks Greek, but he may address his staff in Latin (e.g. P. Lips. 40 ii 7) and give judgement in Latin (e.g. P. Ryl. IV 653). For a short discussion of the type of text see R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings* (Pap. Brux. 4) 36–8. Dr Coles refers to a few early examples in which some Latin appears (add now P. Wisc. II 48. 42–3; ii AD), but the fully developed form is an innovation of the reign of Diocletian, whose policy of

encouraging the use of Latin is well known, cf. J. Kaimio, 'Latin in Roman Egypt', *Actes du XV^e Congrès International de Papyrologie*, 3^e partie (Pap. Brux. 18), 28 and n. 2. The instances known to me are:

1. P. Cair. Cat. Gén. 10268 (298–300; edition by R. A. Coles in *Bull. du Centre d'Études de Papyrologie* 1 (Ain Shams, forthcoming)
2. CPR VII 21 (c.301; cf. J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 41 (1981) 282)
3. XVIII 2187 24–32 (before 304; Latin represented only by the word *Ῥωμαϊκά*)
4. P. Cair. Cat. Gén. 10723 (iii/iv; edition by R. A. Coles forthcoming, as in item 1 above)
5. SPP XIV No. X (= C. Wessely, *Schrifttafeln*, No. 14; III/IV)
6. XLI 2952 (c.315?)
7. LI 3619 (314–24/5)
8. P. Sakaon 33 (= P. Ryl. IV 653 = ChLA IV 254; 320)
9. P. Sakaon 34 (= P. Thead. 13; 321)
10. ChLA XII 522 (327 or 331?; cf. D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 104–7; for *Febrar(ias)* *in seq[retario]* read possibly *Febr(uarias) Arsinoit[um ciuitate] in seq[retario]*, cf. P. Ryl. IV, Pl. iv = ChLA IV 254)
11. P. Ryl. IV 654 (= ChLA IV 255; 300–350)
12. P. Ryl. IV 702 (= ChLA IV 257; 300–350)
13. P. Berl. Zilliacus 4 (= ChLA X 463; c.350; in 16, 23, 26 for *comes pres(es)* read *com(es) et pres(es)*, or possibly *praes(es)*: restore the same in 10 and 13)
14. P. Bouriant 20 (= M. Chr. 96 = P. Abinn. 63 = ChLA X 407; c.350)
15. P. Lond. V 1825 (= ChLA III 210; 352?)
16. ChLA V 292 (352–4?; in 5 for *praef[s(es) Aeg]g(ypti)* . [. . . read probably *praef[s(es) A]yugustamn[icae]*)
17. P. Lips. 33 (= M. Chr. 55 = ChLA XII 525; 368)
18. P. Lond. V 1650 (the only trace of Latin is *r(espondit)* in 3, but see below 3619 gn.; c.372)
19. P. Lips. 38 (= M. Chr. 97 = ChLA XII 520; 390)
20. P. Lips. 44 (= ChLA XII 526; iv)
21. XXII 2352 (= ChLA IV 263; cf. D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 111; iv)
22. P. Lond. III 971 (pp. 128–9, Facsimiles iii, no. 64. The only trace of Latin is *r(espondit)* in 9, 10, 11, but see below 3619 gn.; iv)
23. ChLA V 287 (iv)
24. P. Lips. 40 (= ChLA XII 518, where we are told that the original is lost and no photograph exists; iv/v)
25. XVI 1879 (434)
26. SPP XIV No. XII (= C. Wessely, *Schrifttafeln*, no. 26; c.434)
27. ChLA XI 470 (458)

28. XVI 1878 (46r; in 1 for *hempl*() read *heracl*ς, i.e. *Herac*(*eopolis*), the location of the court)
29. XVI 1876 (48o)
30. ChLA III 217 (483?)
31. XVI 1877 (c.488)
32. P. Mich. VII 463 (= ChLA V 293; v)
33. SB I 5357 (= ChLA X 407; v)
34. ChLA XI 471 (v?)
35. PSI XIII 1309 (v-vi; cf. M. Norsa, *Papiri greci delle collezioni italiane* (Scritture documentarie), pp. 41-2, tav. XXVI)
36. P. Cair. Masp. III 67329 (524/5, cf. P. Ross.-Georg. III 34 introd.)
37. P. Cair. Masp. II 67131 (vi)
38. P. Mich. XIII 660-1 (vi)
39. ChLA V 291? (vi; 'Lettre officielle' ed., but at the beginning of 5 his *chrism* should be read as *fl*ς, i.e. *Fl(auius)*, and the name *Fl(auius) Anastasius Anatoli*ς, occurring in the nominative after four lines of Greek, looks like that of an official presiding over proceedings in court, cf. ChLA V 293).

Apart from some debris containing nothing that can be transcribed unambiguously, only two fragments have survived. Both have damaged remains of an account in talents and drachmas upside down on the back, indicating that they are parts of the same roll at any rate, but all attempts to join the fragments have failed. Some of the entries concern fruit and nuts, *ἰσχάδω*[ν, *φυνικίων* (twice, l. *φον*-), *τροβύλων* (twice), *καροίω*[ν (l. *καρύ*-), two at least begin with names (*Τύραννος*, *Σαραπίων*), and one is for *χόρτρον* (hardly *χάρτρον*).

On the front fr. 1 has the beginnings of seventeen lines, mostly introducing speeches of the *praeses* with his name and titles in Latin, followed by *d(ixit)*. Lines not of this nature are indented by c. 2.5 cm. The fragment is broken on all sides, although a small area of blank papyrus may preserve about 1 cm of the lower edge of the roll. At the top left there are meagre remains in Greek from a preceding column and between the columns there is a sheet join. The writer used the common convention that each pronouncement by the presiding official should begin a new line, cf. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings* 54 n. 3, in conjunction with a format of very long lines, which is also usual in this type of text. The exchanges were short, probably mostly short questions from the *praeses* and short answers from another party, see g.n. on *r(espondit)*, with the result that fourteen of the seventeen line-beginnings in fr. 1 col. ii mention the *praeses*, cf. especially XLI 2952 (Pl. V), which is quite similar to fr. 1 here, and P. Herm. Rees 18, the interrogation of a slave in Greek, which is well enough preserved to give an idea of the original complete shape.

Fr. 2 is also badly damaged, but shows substantial remains of a top margin of c. 3 cm. It too has a sheet join, which is about 7 cm from the left edge. The writing here is mostly in Greek, giving the words of the parties. The longer lines are broken at both

sides, but several others come to an end and are followed by various widths of blank papyrus. Here too we have bilingual proceedings and it is very possible that these lines are part of fr. 1 col. ii. No connection has been made, but this may be explained by the extent of the damage. The fibres on the right of fr. 1 and on the left of fr. 2 are badly twisted, and the pattern of creases and worm damage show that the papyrus was not rolled up or folded regularly when the worms began to eat it. This is clearest from the bottom right of fr. 2, where two creases cross in the shape of an X and there are matching holes in each of the four compartments, showing that this area was folded first from bottom right to top left and then again from bottom left to top right. Other creases run at various odd angles.

The headings of these texts give a date-clause and the location of the proceedings. Since there is no heading at the top of fr. 2, those lines must be part of a text running to two columns or more. If they do not belong to fr. 1 col. ii, they may be from fr. 1 col. i, or even from a more distant part of the roll. The subject here is dimly seen to be the sale of grain, with which some local councillors were concerned. The price seems to have been unsuitable (29). No reason emerges for the presence of this copy of the proceedings at Oxyrhynchus, which lay in the province of *Herculia*. The case may have concerned transactions between Oxyrhynchus and the Delta, but it is also possible that the papyrus was simply brought in to Oxyrhynchus by a visitor.

Fr. 1

i
] δε
(vac.)
] οσεκ, t
]. [. . .]

ii

5] [s]id[orus
(vac.) Isidor[u]s [u(ir)] p(erfectissimus) [
Isidorus u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg[γ]pti
(vac.) . . . α. cυνε. . . . [
(vac.) ματ[.]ς. r(espondit). τρ. [
10 Isidorus u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg(γ)pti Iou[ι]a[]φ[. . .] [
I[σ]ιδ[ο]ρ[ω]ς u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg(γ)pti Iouiaε d(ixit). . . [
Isidorus u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg(γ)pti Iouiaε d(ixit). . . v[
Isidorus u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg(γ)pti Iouiaε ad off(icium) d(ixit). . . [
Isidorus u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg(γ)pti Iouiaε d(ixit). . . [
15 Isidorus u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg(γ)pti Iouiaε d(ixit). [. . .]
(vac.) ἰνδυσίς Hieracapol[*line*
Isidorus u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) [A]eg(γ)pti I[ο]υιαε . [
I[σ]ιδ[ο]ρ[ω]ς u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg(γ)pti Iou[ι]a[ae
Isidorus u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg(γ)pti Iouiaε [
20 Isidorus u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg(γ)pti Iou[ia]e
Isidorus u(ir) p(erfectissimus) praes(es) Aeg[γ]pti
(vac.) [
Foot?

7 uppraesaeg: and so throughout 9 f 11 φ: and so throughout 13 off

7-8 The space between these lines is a little wider than expected, c. 1.5 cm rather than c. 1 cm, but there seems not to be room for an extra line.

9 r(espondit). Cf. 25, 26. The abbreviation is a Latin R cut by an oblique stroke rising from below on the left to above on the right, see ChLA XII 522. 9 (l. 11 in the revised numbering by D. Hagedorn, ZPE 34 (1979) 106). The reading and resolution of the symbol are offered without comment in ChLA, but the Latin R resembles a Greek pi very closely and has been read as such in P. Lond. III 971 (pp. 128-9 = M. Chr. 95). 9, 10, 11 (Facsimiles III Pl. 64), V 1650. 3, and SPP XIV Taf. X (= C. Wessely, *Schrifttafeln*, no. 14-transcript p. 14). 5. Only the last of these texts is a normal bilingual record of proceedings like 3619. The writer of P. Lond. 971 seems to have been copying a bilingual original without knowing Latin. He left large gaps for most of the Latin framework, but transcribed this abbreviation. He may not have understood it, but he faithfully copied the chief feature which distinguishes R from pi, namely the extension of the first upright well below the base line. Wilcken, *Gdz.* 86 n. 2, pointed out that the gaps implied a Latin original and realized that the abbreviation must be a Latin letter, though he was inclined to recognize it as S. In P. Lond. 1650 the

Fr. 2

] (vac.) . . . [.] (vac.)
], ζ. αι ὑμῖς οἱ βουλευταὶ πῶς ἐπράθη ὁ κύτος. Αἰολορῆμῖς ex[
] um. (vac.) quō uexato (vac.)
25] κων ἐξεστάζω. ἐγχωρεῖ γὰρ το[ύς] β[ο]υλευτὰς ψευδέσθαι. r(espondit). τριάκοντα [
] . . . r(espondit). ναί. (vac.) [c. 10 letters] (vac.)
] [.] κατη[. . .] . . . [. . .] αζωτη[
] πολλακῖς [. . .] παρηγ[. . .] κα[
] . η. φ. . . [. . .] μας ἐλάττονος πρᾶσαντες πλεῖ[σ]τος [
(vac.)
] [. . .] ες. (vac.)
] [c. 10] [] νην. (vac.)
] [c. 10] (vac.)
] [c. 10] (vac.)
35] . . . [c. 20] [] των ἀχροκόων [
(vac.) [
] . φτ[

23 l. ὑμῖς 25 l. ἐγχωρεῖ; f 26 γ

introductions to the speeches of the praeses are given in Greek, but the other speakers' words are prefaced by r(espondit). Strangely enough, although ἀνεκρίνατο is very frequent in Greek proceedings, see R. A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings* 43-4, respondit is almost entirely absent from Latin ones, *ibid.* 45-6 (45 n. 6). The use of it in Bruns, *Fontes* no. 188. 11 is not perhaps quite comparable.

16 The least we need to restore is a conjunction and the name of another person, meaning, 'When Hieracapollon and . . . had been brought into court, . . .'. Cf. CPR VII 21. 6, P. Lips. 38 i 12, 40 ii 8, *Cod. Just.* 48 (47). 2.

17 The last trace seems not to be from a tall letter such as would suit d(ixit); φ[d off(icium)], cf. 13, is possible.

22 . . . [. These traces in the top margin are very faint, but look deliberate. If so, they probably come from a column number. The absence of a heading shows that this was not the first column of the record of proceedings, see introd. There are not necessarily two figures. The second trace might be from a stroke marking the numeral, e.g. β'.

23 The remains would suit ἐπιζητηθεῖσθαι, 'You councillors (must?) be investigated on the manner of the sale of the grain'. I have allowed κύτος its older generic sense of 'grain', but by this date it may already mean specifically 'wheat', see H. Cadell, *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (1974), 61-8, esp. 64-5.

At the end of the line ex[may introduce the speaker's origin, i.e. ex ciuitate . . ., cf. P. Lond. V 1825. 2, P. Mich. XIII 661. 11, or give his title such as exactor, exceptor, or ex protectoribus, *vel sim.*

24 I take it that the praeses spoke here to his staff in Latin, saying something like uexa] eum, and that 'quo

uxato means 'when he had been beaten', which was followed in 25 by the formula to introduce another speech by the *praeses*. Compare P. Lips. 40 iii 20–22, and, for Latin to the staff, ii 7. For *uxo* = 'beat' see P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.v., and *CGL* iv 401. 6, where it is glossed 'mulcare, verberare, exagitare'. See now also *JRS* 72 (1982) 105 (l. 75), where in a scene of judicial torture there occurs the sentence *ei pectus uxalut*. The corrupt Greek has *εατω το στήθος* †*στρεβερε* = *αὐτῷ τὸ στήθος στρέφεται?* *στρεβλοῦται?* (ed.). This shows that the word does not refer to flogging, but to some form of torture inflicted on the chest.

25 Perhaps there was another reference here to *ἀγορίσκων*, cf. 35. Understand, perhaps, 'I am enquiring (from the country folk?), for it is possible that the councillors are lying'.

26 *r(espondit)*. *vqf*. This is exactly the wording of ChLA X 522. 9, see 9 n. above.

27–9 If fr. 2 does represent the same column as fr. 1, see introd., it seems likely that either 27–8 or 28–9 correspond with 7–8, because 7–8 must have been lines that occupied the full width of the column and it is only at this point in fr. 2 that we have groups of two successive long lines. We might argue further that, because 16 is indented, 15 was a long line and that it must correspond with 35. This would pin down 7–8 as corresponding with 27–8. We could envisage the *praeses* saying in 35 something like *καλείσθωσαν* (cf. P. Lips. 38 i 12) or *εἰσαγέσθωσαν* (cf. P. Lips. 40 ii 8) *οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγορίσκων*, 'Let the representatives of the country folk be called', or '... brought into court', followed in 16 = 36 by 'When Hieracopolon and ... had been brought into court'. This looks attractive and fairly convincing, but it has not been possible to confirm it from the physical state of the papyrus and it has led to no further understanding of the text.

27 Perhaps *κατη[γο]ρῶν*, or *κατη[γο]ρῶν*, *ἐ[ξ]ετ[ε]ρίζω*, cf. 25.

28 Perhaps *ε[αἰ]?* *παρήγγελα* [*vel sim.*?]

35 Cf. 27–9 n.

⊕ 3620. PETITION TO NYCTOSTRATEGI

66 6B.26/F(1–3)a
66 6B.26/G(1–3)c

15.5 × 25.5 cm

2 February 326

Two fragments have been put together to form a document which is substantially complete, but lacks a strip from the upper left and has suffered severe damage further down on the same side. Line 17 is shared between the fragments. There is a sheet join running vertically less than 1 cm from the right edge, showing that the piece was cut from a roll in the normal way, see E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* 4. The back is blank.

The chief point of interest is the name and date of a new prefect of Egypt, Tiberius Flavius Laetus. A person with the same *tria nomina*, who may well be the same, appears in an inscription of 337–40, see 24 n.

The petition is from a man whose wife had been physically assaulted and probably robbed of some gold by another woman and a slave girl. He asked for a midwife to be sent to inspect his wife and certify her state of health in writing, so that he might have documentary evidence to submit if there should be proceedings in the prefect's court. This is only the third mention of a midwife in the papyri, see 17–18 n.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου
 Αὐγούστο]ν τὸ ζ' καὶ Κωνσταντίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου
 (vac.) Κ[αί]αρος τὸ ας', Μεχεῖρ η' . (vac.)
 Αὐρηλί[ου] Αἰθωνίου καὶ Τιμοθέου ἀμφοτέροι<ς> νυκτο-
 στρατῆ]ροις τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξ(υρρυχιτῶν) πόλεως
 5 παρὰ Α]ἰρηλίου Θωνίου Ὀνωφῆριος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
] π[ό]λεως. κατὰ τὴν χθὲς ἡμέραν, τῆς ἡμε-
 τέρας κυ]μβίου κατ' ἴκων τυχανούσης, Ταπήσις τις,
 10 ἄ[μα τῇ ἑα]ντῆς οἰκέτιδι Οὐκτωρᾷ, ἐσπεριναῖς
 ὤραις ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπῶθεν τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας
 οἰκούσα, ἐπιστάσα{ι} ὕβρις προσετρίψατο τῇ[ν] κυμβί-
 15 ω]μο]ν ἀρήτους, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὴν ἐσθῆτα <α>ὐτῆς
 διαραγῆναι ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ[μα], προσενεγκτικῶν
] νπλω[. . .] ν αὐτὴν κυμβίω μου
] . [. . .] . κ. [. . .] . ης χρυσιῦ. ἐπὶ τοῖνον
 c. 22 letters] τὴν βιβλιδίων
 ἐπίδοσιν ποιῶμαι ἀξι[ῶν]] . μέαν ἐπιστα-
 λίσαν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ σημειώσασθαι τὴν
 διάθεσιν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐνγράφως προσφωνῆσαι [[την] <καὶ>
 20 τῆς προσφωνήσεως γεγενημένης καὶ γνωσθέντος
 τοῦ ἀποπήματος ἐγγύας αὐτὰς παρασχέσθαι ἢ εἰ κυμβέ-
 η τι τῆ{ς} κυμβίω μου ἢ δέουσα{ν} ἐκδικία γένηται παρὰ
 τῷ ἀχράντῳ δικαστηρίῳ τῷ κυρίῳ μου διασημοτάτῳ
 ἐπάρχῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Τιβερίου Φλαυτοῦ Λαίτου.

4 l. Τιμοθέω	5 λαμς', λαμς'οξ'	8 l. κατ' οἶκον	9 l. οἰκέτιδι; οὐκτωρᾷ
11 ὕβρις, l. ὕβρις	12 l. ἀρήτους	13 l. διαραγῆναι, προσενεγκτικῶν	15 l. ἐπέ
17 l. μαῖαν	17–18 l. ἐπιστάσα	18 l. ὑφ' ἡμῶν, σημειώσασθαι	19 l. ἐγγράφως
21 εγγύας, ἢ	21–2 l. κυμβίω	23 l. κυρίου	24 φλαυτοῦ

'In the consulship of our masters Constantine Augustus for the 7th time and Constantius the most noble Caesar for the 1st time, Mecheir 8.

'To Aurelius Aphthonius and Aurelius Timotheus, both *nyctostrategi* of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Thonius son of Onnophris from the same city. In the course of yesterday while my wife was at home a certain Tapesis, who lives in the regions far distant from our house (?), during the evening hours made an attack together with her slave-girl Victoria (?) and inflicted unspeakable acts of violence on my wife, so that not only was her clothing torn, but her person . . . my said wife . . . gold. Since, therefore, . . . , I make submission of this petition requesting that . . . midwife should be officially instructed by you to come and take note of her condition and report in writing (and that) when the report has been made and

the outrage investigated, they should provide guarantees, so that, if anything should befall my wife, the appropriate action for retribution may take place in the immaculate court of my lord the most perfect prefect of Egypt Tiberius Flavius Laetus.'

1-3 Cf. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 109 (AD 326).

2 *Διγούστου*. This, rather than *Κεβακού*, seems to be the formula in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see XLV 3249 1. In P. Princ. II 79, 1, where the edition has *Κλωστρατίου του* *Κ[εβ(ακού)] του* *ζ*, a better reading is *Κλωστρατίου* *ἄχου[του τὸ ζ]*, as Professor Ann E. Hanson has kindly confirmed from the original.

4-5 *νυκτο[ε]τρατήγοις*. See the material collected by P. J. Sijpesteijn for Pap. Lugd. Bat. XVII (= *Anidoron Martino David*), No. 17, the text of which has appeared again as SB X 10287. Sijpesteijn's conclusions have been modified in *CE* 44 (1969) 347-52 by J. D. Thomas, who has shown that *nyctostrategi* did not appear in the nome capitals till the municipalization of Egypt. The earliest Oxyrhynchite example is now L 3571 (286); see too P. Oxy. Hels. 26 (296).

Especially to be compared with this document is P. Lips. 42, which is a doctor's report to a *nyctostrategus*, like the one requested in 17-19.

6-7 It is more usual to have simply *ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως*. Before *κατὰ* the sigma has a long straight cap which suggests that we should punctuate strongly after it, and the very meagre traces suit *π[ό]λις*. Probably the name was repeated in an abbreviated form, cf. I 55 6 *ἀπ[ὸ] τῆ[ς] αὐτῆ[ς] λαμπράς* *Ὀξ[υρρυχιδῶν] πόλεως* (283), XIV 1643 4-5 *ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Ὀξυρρυχιδῶν πόλεως*.

9 *Ὀδύκτωρ*. Cf. XVII 2151 13, where the text gives *Ὀδύκτωρ* but the note says, 'The second *ι* of *Ὀδύκτωρ* is very uncertain, and perhaps *-τωρ* was written'. Neither *Ὀδύκτωρ* nor *Ὀδύκτωρ* appears in F. Preisigke, *MB* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. I have assumed that the form here is another example of the loss of accented iota before a back vowel, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 302-3, and have accented it according to the rule given there.

9-10 It seems likely that *ἐξπεριναῖς ὄραις* should be read, since the *nyctostrategi* are involved and the meagre traces at the beginning cover less space than *νυκτ-* ought to. If it is correct its placing is odd. Where it stands it ought to modify *οἰκοῦσα*, which would give a strange sense. It is far more probable that it refers only to the time of the assault, cf. R. Taubenschlag, *Law*⁸ 441. A similar difficulty attaches to the placing of *ἄμα τῇ ἐαυτῆς οἰκέτιδι* (= *-ιδι*). This almost certainly refers to the slave-girl's complicity in the crime, cf. Taubenschlag, loc. cit., the ungrammatical but suggestive plural *ἐπιτάσα(ι)* in 11, and *αὐτάς* in 21, but in its present place seems to say only that she shared her mistress's residence. For the purposes of the translation it is assumed that the order should have been something like *Ταπήσις τις, ἐν τοῖς πολὺ ἄπωθεν τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας οἰκοῦσα, ἐπεριναῖς ὄραις ἅμα τῇ ἐαυτῆς οἰκέτιδι ἐπιτάσα κτλ.*

10-11 *ἐν τοῖς πολὺ ἄπωθεν τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας οἰκοῦσα*, 'who lives in the regions far distant from our house'. An alternative translation might be, 'who lives in the far distant parts of our house', taking *ἄπωθεν* as an adverb rather than as a preposition. The two occurrences of the word in the papyri, P. Masp. I 67005. 14 (adv.?), II 67151. 206 (prep.), both of the sixth century AD, do not help, still less does the suggestion that it appeared in P. Harr. I 15B. 2, cf. BL III 83, H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* ii 813-14.

11 *ἐπιτάσα(ι)*. This is the simplest correction. Evidently the writer was thinking of mistress and slave rushing to attack together, cf. 9-10n.

ἄβρις (= *ἄβρεϊς*) *προσετρέψαστο*. Cf. XVII 2133 23.

12 *ἀρήτους* = *ἀρήτους*. For simplification of *ρρ* to *ρ* see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 156. Add especially SB VI 9421. 10-11 *ἐξέβριεν ἡμᾶς ῥητοῖς τε καὶ ἀρήτοις*. Cf. *διαραγήναι* (13).

13 *διαραγήναι* = *διαραγήναι*. Cf. 12 n. and P. Lips. 37. 19 *ἐ[σ]θῆτα διαρ[ή]ξαντες*.

προσενεγκισάν = *προσενεχθεῖσάν*. The gamma was probably added on the analogy of *ἐνευκεῖν*, and it implies *προσενεχθεῖσάν* as the 'correct' form. This type of formation is said to be found almost only in the third century BC, see Maysner-Schmoll, *Grammatik* i 1. 167.

14 It seems likely that we should envisage restoring *τ]ην αὐτῆν συμβίω*, which must be corrected either to *τῆ[ν] αὐτῆ[ς] συμβίω* or to *τῆν αὐτῆν σύμβιω(ν)* = *σύμβιον*, both of which would suit the prevailing phonetic uncertainty about nasals. Before that the succession of letters *-νπλω-* is very intractable.

15 The gold was perhaps stolen by the assailant.

17-18 It is clear from *ἐπιστάσιαν* (= *-λείαν*) that the preceding letters are to be articulated as *μαῖαν* = *μαῖαν*, cf. e.g. I 52 6, VI 896 26 in which *δημόσιοι ἰατροί* use this term to refer to their instructions to perform a medical inspection. Cf. also P. Lips. 42, a medical report which had been requested by a petitioner

and was submitted by a *δημόσιος ἰατρός* to a *νυκτοεπράτηγος*. All this suggests the possibility that we should here restore *τὴν δημοσίαν μαῖαν*, but a mere possibility is what it remains at the moment. The latest study of this subject is D. W. Amundsen and G. B. Ferngren, 'The Forensic Role of Physicians in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt', in the Johns Hopkins Hospital's *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52 (1978) 336-53.

The only other reference to a *μαῖα* in the papyri is in a complicated and damaged document republished and elucidated by Wilcken in *Archiv* 3 (1906) 369-79, cf. *ZPE* 47 (1982) 255-8. This part of the papyrus (ii 1-9) refers to an *inspectio ventris*, a medical examination to confirm the pregnancy of a woman recently widowed, see *ibid.* 371, 373-5. In this case too the wife may have been pregnant. A midwife would not necessarily have been sent just because the patient was a woman, as we can see from extant reports by male doctors on a slave girl (P. Osl. III 95) and on the daughter of a free man (I 52). If the wife was pregnant, the fact may well have been specified in one of the places now damaged, cf. P. Ryl. II 68. 13-14, SB X 10239. 14-15.

Another term meaning midwife has turned up once in a private letter, XII 1586 12, *ἡ λατρίνη σε ἀπάξεται*, and it is possible that 3642 16 also refers to a midwife, see n.

19 *καί*. Obviously something has been left out. Other stopgaps could be thought of, e.g. *ἄρεσσι πρὸς τὸ*. 21-2 On *εἰ* with the optative see B. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 283-5, esp. §649. (6).

24 In *AE* 1927, no. 165, an inscription of 337-40, a Ti. Flavius Laetus, *vir clarissimus* and *comes*, cf. *PLRE* i 492 (Laetus 1), is recorded as having restored the circus at Emerita in Lusitania. Also mentioned on the stone is the *praeses* of Lusitania, a *vir perfectissimus*, from which we may probably deduce that Laetus was a prominent native of the town or province. Our prefect of Egypt was a *vir perfectissimus* in 326 and it is perfectly conceivable that he could have acquired the *clarissimatus* and the title of *comes* by 337-40. If it could be proved that the two documents relate to the same man it would be interesting to have another undisputed Westerner as prefect of Egypt. Unfortunately the individual elements of the name are common, so the most that can be claimed is that there is a strong likelihood of identity.

3621. NOMINATION OF VILLAGE LITURGISTS

50 4B.23/K(2)a

14.5 × 24.5 cm

10 May 329

Addressed to the *praepositus* of the third *pagus* by the *lessararius* and comarchs of the village of Senecleu, this document nominates collectors for taxes in kind, two each for grain (*sitologi*), meat, chaff, and clothing, cf. J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 207–10, with 134–7 for village administration in general. It confirms the early start of the indiction in this period as recently established by R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 9–16, see 9n.

The back is blank.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου

Αὐγούστου τὸ η´ καὶ Κωνσταντίνου

τοῦ ἐπιφανε[σ]τάτου Καίσαρος τὸ δ.

Ἀρρηλίω Πλουτίωνι πραι(ποσίτω) γ´ πάγου

5 παρὰ Ἀρρηλίων Πετσίριος Παελαίνους τεσσα-

λαρίου καὶ Πανᾶ Βηγάτος καὶ Πανεχώτου

Ἡρακλέου κωμαρχ(ῶν) κώμης Σενεκελεύ γ´ πάγου[v.

δίδομεν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἡμῶν κί(ν)δύνω εἰς τὰς παρακι-

10 μένας χρεῖας τῆς εὐτυχούσης γ´ ἰνδικ(τίωνος)

τοὺς ὑπογεγραμμένους<ς> ὄντας εὐπόρους καὶ

ἐπιτηδίους πρὸς τὴν χρεῖαν. εἰςὶ δὲ

Ἀρρηλίω (vac.)

σ]ιτολόγος ἐπὶ ἀχύρου

Πανσίριος Παμμάχου Ἁτρήσ Ἀμμωνίου

15 Κλᾶρος Πανεχώτου Πανσᾶς Παταύριος

ἐπὶ κρέως ἐπὶ στιχ(αρίων) καὶ παλ(λίων)

Παπνοῦθις Μοῦίτος Παελένης Ἀμοῖτᾶ

Ἁτρήσ Σιλβανού Ἁτρήσ Τάχιος

οἱ πάντες ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης.

20 ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης), Παχῶν ιε.

(m. 2) Ἀρρ(ήλιοι) Πετσίριος τεσσαλάριος καὶ Πανσᾶς καὶ Πανεχώτης

οἱ π[ρ]ογεγραμμένοι ἐπιδ]εδώκαμεν. Ἀρρ(ήλιος) Ἰσιῶν Ἡράτος

ἔγρ(αφα) ὑ(πέρ) αὐτῶν μῆ [εἰ(δότην) γράμ(ματα).] (vac.)

4 Πλουτίωνι: final ι over ος; πραι)

5 l. Παελένου

7 κωμαρχ

8 ἴδιω

8–9 l. παρακειμένος χρεῖας

9 ἰνδῆ*

11 l. ἐπιτηδείου, χρεῖαν

16 στιχ, παλ

20 προ*

21 αὐρ'πέτσειρις

22 αὐρ'

23 εγρδω)

'In the consulship of our masters Constantine Augustus for the 8th time and Constantine the most noble Caesar for the 4th time.

'To Aurelius Plution *praepositus* of the 3rd *pagus*, from Aurelius Pettiris son of Pahelenes, *lessararius*, and from Aurelius Paysas son of Besas and Aurelius Panchotes son of Heracles, comarchs of the village of Senecleu of the 3rd *pagus*. We present at our own personal risk for the specified services of the auspicious 3rd indiction the undermentioned persons, who are financially sound and fit for the service. Viz. Aurelii,

'Sitologus:

Paysiris son of Pammachus

Clarus son of Panchotes

'In charge of meat:

Papnuthis son of Muis

Hatres son of Silvanus

'In charge of chaff:

Hatres son of Ammonius

Paysas son of Patayris

'In charge of tunics and cloaks:

Pahelens son of Amoitas

Hatres son of Tachis

—all from the same village.

'In the aforesaid consulship, Pachon 15.'

(2nd hand) 'We, Aurelius Petsiris, *lessararius*, and Aurelius Paysas and Aurelius Panchotes, the aforesaid, have submitted (the document). I, Aurelius Ision son of Heras, wrote on their behalf because they do not know letters.'

4 Aurelius Plution has not been identified with any other bearer of that common name. On the position of *praepositus* see J. Lallemand, *L'Administration civile* 131–4.

5 Πετσίριος. The amanuensius called him *Περσεΐρις* (21). Both names existed, and it is uncertain which writer was mistaken.

5–6 τεσσαλάριος = *τεσσαραρίος*. On the spelling see P. Got. 6. 7 n. On the office see R. P. Coleman-Norton, *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History* 322–35. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Services of Roman Egypt* 49, s.v. *τεσσαράριος*, gives the span of its known existence as 307/8–24, but PSI X 1106 and 1107 refer to one in 336. A variety of duties is attested and the basic sense is not clear. The Greek–Latin glossaries gloss *lessararius* with *γραμματεὺς* (CGL ii 264. 53; iii 28. 5; 298. 27; 352. 51; 395. 38; 420. 18; 512. 9). Two of these references are in alphabetical lists (ii 264. 53; iii 512. 9); the rest have a military context, cf. Plut. *Galb.* 24, ὁ μὲν ὄπτην, ὁ δὲ τεσσαράριος. οὗτω γὰρ καλοῦνται οἱ διαγέγων καὶ διοπτήρων ὑπηρετίας τελοῦντες. In Egyptian villages illiterates held the post, as here, but the *lessararius* may have been the later equivalent of the village scribe. See P. Petaus introd. p. 21 and H. C. Youtie, *CÉ* 41 (1966) 127–43, esp. 137 for the minimal standards of the literacy which was legally required for that office.

7 κωμαρχ(ῶν). See H. E. L. Missler, *Der Komarch*, with *ZPE* 19 (1975) 113–15.

Σενεκελεύ γ´ πάγου[v. The *pagus* of Senecleu was not previously known, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 164. It had been in the Western toparchy, see e.g. X 1265 80, XIV 1659 36. This agrees with what is known about the relation of the toparchies to the *pagi*, cf. XII 1425 4 n.

9 γ´ ἰνδικ(τίωνος). Indiction 3 = 329/30. At this period the indiction began early in Pachon, see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 9–16. These liturgists are to begin work immediately, as is fairly evident for the collectors of chaff and wheat, since the harvest was imminent, if not begun. The early beginning of the indiction in connection with meat is proved already by XXXI 2571, see Bagnall–Worp, op. cit. 9.

3622. CONTRACT OF A SYSTATES

42 5B.75/E(2 5)a

19 × 12 cm

29 August 356

This and the following item give us two more dates which extend to about thirty years the long career as systates of Aurelius Muses son of Theon, known previously from VIII 1116 (363/4), PSI X 1108 (381/2), and XXXIV 2715 (386/7). Together with the accumulating evidence for the collegiate activity of the systatae, see XLVI 3301, XLIII 3137 introd., this suggests that the post was a permanent one, not involving reappointment at intervals as previously thought, see XXXIV 2715 introd.

By analogy with the third-century system, described in XLIII 3095-8 introd., we should expect to find at any one time a fixed number of tribes providing public servants in a fixed rotation. We should expect the systates to be busiest in the years his tribe was providing liturgists and to be employed in the intervening years with liturgical liabilities dragging on beyond the proper year and with matters of taxation and registration of persons. In 3622 the tribe is actually said to be 'now providing public servants' (5) in 356/7. All the other documents are nominations to liturgies and name the same tribe, implying that it was serving in the years mentioned. We ought, therefore, to be able to construct a table of the tribe's years of service. Unfortunately the intervals are incompatible with any simple rotatory system that I can discover. It is possible, however, that the number of tribes changed more than once over this period, as they did in the third century. No other systates is known over the thirty-year period of the activity of Muses.

After ten lines the text breaks off, leaving just enough to show the contract would have been a parallel to the badly damaged *W. Chr.* 405 (= P. Flor. I 39), re-edited in *CE* 46 (1971) 146-9. The systates would have acknowledged that satisfactory arrangements had been made to carry out the public duty allocated by him to the other party, see *ibid.*

The back of the sheet is blank, so far as it is preserved.

ὑπατείας [τῶν δεσποτ]ῶν ἡμῶν Κων[στα]ντινίου αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου
τὸ η' καὶ Ἰο[υλιανοῦ] τοῦ ἀνδριστάτου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α,
(vac.) Θῶθ α. (vac.)

Ἀυρήλιος Μουσχῆς Θέων[ο]ς ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)

5 Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως κυστάτης τῆς νυνεὶ λειτουργούσης

φυλῆς Δρόμ[ο]ν Γυμνασίου καὶ ἄλλων ἀμφόδων

Ἀυρήλιω Π[ι], [. . .] . [.] Κυλιανῶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως τῆς

αὐτῆς φυλῆ[ς] αἰρεῖν, ὁμολογῶ σνηλλαχένας σοι

τ[ῆ]ν ἐ[γχειρισθεῖσά]ν σο[ι] ἐ[νιαύ]σιον λ[ιτου]ργ[ί]αν τῶν

10 c. 30 letters] . . . [c. 8

1 ὑπατείας 2 Ἰουλιανου]; 1 ἀνδριστάτου 4 λαμ^σ, λαμ^ς 5 ἡ νυνεὶ λειτουργούσης
7 ἡ Κυλιανῶ? 9 ἡ λειτουργίαν

'In the consulship of our masters Constantius, eternal Augustus, for the 8th time, and Julian, the most valiant and noble Caesar, for the 1st time, Thoth 1.

'Aurelius Muses son of Theon from the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, systates of the tribe of Gymnasium Street and other districts, now providing public servants, to Aurelius . . . son of Silvanus (?), greetings. I acknowledge that I have contracted with you for the year-long public service entrusted to you . . .'

1-2 The same unusual formula with both ἀνδριστάτος (= *fortissimus*) and ἐπιφανεστάτος (= *nobilissimus*) appears in PSI IX 1078 of 25 November 356, which is the only other consular formula of this year quoted from the papyri in R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 112.

7 The traces, though fairly scanty, do not favour τῶ καὶ Κυλιανῶ, and in this official context a patronymic is expected. Probably, therefore, Κυλιανῶ was intended. The name Ptolemaeus son of Silvanus occurs in XLV 3249 g (AD 326) and L 3578 3, 7, 10 (AD 342). Here Πτ[ρ] seems suitable, but the space is short for Πτολεμαίω and the later traces are also hard to reconcile with it.

9 Cf. *W. Chr.* 405, 6 τῶν ἐγχειριστέων σοι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κ[.] λ[ιτου]ργίαν, PSI I 86, 10-11 τῶν ἐν[α]ύσιον δημοτικῆν λειτουργίαν.

3623. NOMINATION TO A PUBLIC SERVICE

31 4B.13/A(2-4)a

11.5 × 9 cm

359

The addressee is a new logistes, see 2 n., and the nomination is submitted by the systates Aurelius Muses, whose long career is discussed in 3622 introd.

For the little that is known about the government packet-boats on the Nile, upon which the nominee was to serve, see P. Beatty Panop. I. 60, 252; 2. 275 and notes, with XXXIII 2675. Add J. Shelton, *BASP* 7 (1970) 9-19.

The document breaks off after nine lines and is blank on the back.

ὑπατείας Φλ(αουτίων) Εὐ]σεβίου καὶ Ὑπατίου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων)

.]ω Ἀπ[ο]λλωνίω τῶ καὶ Θεοδούλω

(vac.) λογιτῆ Ὀξυρυγχίτου (vac.)

παρὰ Ἀυρήλιου Μουσχῆ Θέωνος ἀπὸ τῆς

5 αὐτῆς πόλεως κυστάτης φυλῆς Δρόμου

Γυμνασίου καὶ ἄλλων ἀμφόδων, δίδωμι

καὶ εἰσαγγέλλω ἰδίω μου κινδύνω

εἰς χώραν ἀλιαδίτην ἥτοι γραμ-

ματη]φ[όρου]ν τ[ο]ῦ ὀξέου δρόμου ἐφ' ἐνιαυτό(ν)

5 ἡ κυστάτου 7 εἰσαγγέλλω, ἰδίω 8 ἡ ἀλιαδίτου 9 ἡ ὀξέος; εφενιαυτος; 1. ἐπ' ἐνιαυτόν

'In the consulship of Flavius Eusebius and Flavius Hypatius, *viri clarissimi*.

'To Flavius (?) Apollonius alias Theodulus logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Muses son of Theon from the same city, systates of the tribe of Gymnasium Street and other districts. I present and introduce at my own personal risk to the position of sailor otherwise letter-carrier of the *cursus velox* for (one) year . . .'

¹ Lack of space forbids the restoration of *μετὰ τὴν ὑπαρείαν*. It seems unlikely that there would have been room for month and day at the end of the line. Probably there was a line near the foot with *ὑπαρείας τῆς προκειμένης, ἢ ἡμ.*, plus month and day, cf. the parallel nomination XXXIII 2675 20. There the day is Tybi 20 = 15 January 318, which, as the note observes, is a late date for a liturgy supposed to run from 29 August 317 to 28 August 318 (ll. 11–13). The other nomination to the same liturgy, PSI X 1108, is dated Thoth 1 = 29 August 381, see BL VI 184. The divergence make it impossible to say for certain whether this document should be assigned to the Egyptian year 359/360 or to 358/9, but obviously the normal date would be close to Thoth 1 for the incoming year. In that case the ideal date would be 30 August 359, for the year 359/360.

² Restore probably *Φλαουί]ω*, but cf. XLVI 3306 1 n., 3308–11 introd., for the possibility of *Ἀθρηλ]ω*.

The logistes is new, i.e. not in the latest list in *BASP* 13 (1976) 38–40.

⁴ *Μουσή*. So also in VIII 1116 4; *Μουσεως* in PSI X 1108. 4; XXXIV 2715 4. The nominative *Μουσή* appears in 3622 4. For the short genitive cf. XLIII 3102 5 n., XLIV 3169 181 n.

⁸ *ἀλαδίτην* (l. *ἀλαδίτου*). PSI X 1108. 8–9 has *εἰς χόρραν ἀλαδ[τ]ου ἤτοι γραμματηφ[όρου]*⁹ τοῦ δέξου δρόμου; cf. *W. Chr.* 405. 6–7.

⁹ *δέξου* (l. *δέξος*). The same spelling occurs in PSI X 1108. 9, see previous note. *ἐφ' ἐναντιό(ν)*. For the false aspiration cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* 135. The next word was no doubt *ἐνα*, cf. e.g. VIII 1116 12.

3624–3626. DECLARATIONS OF PRICES

40 5B.110/B(5–6)a

19 × 21 cm

25 January 359

Parallels to these sworn declarations of commodity prices by Oxyrhynchite guilds are contained in I 85 = Sel. Pap. II 332 (AD 338; revised by R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 115–23), XXXI 3570 (329), PSI III 202 (s.d.), cf. *ZPE* 39 (1980) 124–5, and P. Harris I 73 (s.d.; revised by R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 229–39). The format of all these varies only in minor matters of wording and layout. A similar declaration is made in P. Ant. I 38, but it is not surprising that its format is rather different, since it comes from Antinoopolis and is of an earlier date, 12 April 300, see SB X 10257.

The Oxyrhynchite declarations are dated on the last day of the month, wherever the day is verifiable. In P. Ant. 38 the day is Pharmuthi 17, which may be due to the early date or the different provenance.

In all the certain cases the substance is the raw material of the guild concerned, e.g. here silver for silversmiths (3624), wheat for bakers (3625), cf. R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 229–30. A possible exception may be found in PSI 202 col. i, where the price of pork is probably declared by pork-butchers (*χοιρομαχείρων*, 3–4 ed. pr., *χοιρομαγίρων* R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 125). Here, however, weavers of Tarsian linen (*ταρσικάριοι*) were apparently supposed to declare the prices of types of garment woven by themselves, see 3626 17–30. The wording of the declaration, *προσφωνοῦμεν . . . τὴν ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένην τιμὴν ὧν χειρίζομεν ὀνίων εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μηνός*, ‘we report that the price entered below for the saleable goods which we handle has been in force during this month’, could apply whether the price was that of the raw material or the finished product of the guild. Diocletian’s schedule of controlled prices covers both types of product, as well as some rates of pay and transport charges. However, in all the certain

cases the representative of the guild declares under oath the price its members have paid for the raw material of their craft during the expiring month. Note that there is no allusion to the guilds’ stocks of raw materials, as stated in I 85 introd., cf. T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes* 190, 194. In XXXI 2570 introd. it is correctly observed that it is a price which is reported, cf. P. Ant. I 38 introd., Sel. Pap. II 332, but the price is defined further as the price ‘of the goods in stock’, which is not stated in the texts. Very possibly some of the materials bought in the course of a month remained on hand at the end of it, but this is not mentioned in the declarations and does not appear to be relevant to them.

It may be that these documents are connected with the rapid inflation well attested for the fourth century, but it is not easy to envisage exactly what purpose they served. Since the prices are not entered in 3626, cf. R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 115, it appears that the declarations were supposed to be genuine reports of observed fact and not, for instance, statements of conformity with prices fixed in advance, though we are reduced to guessing whether the stated price is the average for the month or the highest price reached during it. Perhaps the government intended to use the information to control prices from time to time, see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* ii 859, but a different hypothesis is suggested by the frequent references in the law-codes to market prices as the standard by which payments of *annona* to soldiers or officials were to be commuted into money (e.g. *C. Theod.* vii 4. 10), and also as the standard by which goods required by the government were to be bought from the provincials (*C. Theod.* xi 15. 2), cf. J. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 104, 219–20, A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* i 461, 630. These obviously imply an official mechanism for ascertaining the local market prices, and it seems very likely that the papyrus declarations of prices are part of that mechanism. So far this type of document is confined to the fourth century, but the lists of commodity prices in 3628–33, of the fifth century, may have been compiled from similar reports.

The papyrus also reveals the *nomen* of the senior consul of 358, Censorius Datianus, see 3624 19 n.

The declarations are written on a fragment of a roll badly worn along the top edge and broken on the other three sides. The right-hand edge has broken along the line of a join, and another join is visible c. 15 cm to the left running down the middle of col. ii (3624). These joins, which are beginning to come apart, show a new phenomenon which has been described in E. G. Turner, *Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16), 20, with reference to this papyrus. The right-hand edges of the sheets lack vertical fibres for a width of c. 2.5 cm, the whole width of the rather irregular joins being c. 2.75 cm. Evidently a deliberate effort was made to reduce the bulk of the joins, which at their right-hand edges consist of only three layers instead of four. Experiment might reveal that this was a normal practice, since this particular roll gives no special impression of fine workmanship. No experiments have yet been conducted to separate original sheet joins, but observations by me and by Dr Coles since the date of the remarks in E. G. Turner, loc. cit., have confirmed that manufacturers’ joins are often of this type, and no instance of a manufacturers’ join with four layers of fibres has been detected.

Except for the sole surviving subscription in 3624 22–5 all the writing appears to be in a single hand. We may conclude that the roll of declarations was written by a clerk in the logistes' office and that the guild representatives attended there to subscribe or have subscriptions written on their behalf. Probably the roll was prepared in advance. The prices appear to be in the chief hand, but it seems likely that they were added at the same time as the corresponding subscription. Unfortunately the foot of 3626 is lost, so that we cannot see for certain that it lacked a subscription as well as prices. The name of the guild representative, though now illegible, did stand in 3626 5. In other uncompleted declarations gaps were also left for the names, see *ZPE* 39 (1980) 115. Presumably in this case the clerk felt justified in guessing that the representative would be the same once again.

The remains of col. i are in no case more than a portion of the final letter of a line. On the back there are some scattered traces of ink, most of them clearly offsets, though some on the back of col. iv (3626) might just possibly belong to an endorsement.

3624

ii

Φλ. [
 λογιστῆ Ὀξυρυγχείτῳ
 πα]ρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν
 ἀργ]υροκόπων τῆς
 5 αὐ]τῆς πόλεως
 δι(ὰ) Διοσκόρου.
 προσφωνοῦμε[ν]
 ἰδίῳ τιμήματι τ[ῆν]
 ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμ[μέ-]
 10 νην τιμῆν ὧν χι-
 ρίζομεν ἀνίων
 εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῦδε τῷ μη-
 νος καὶ ὄμ[νομε]ν
 τὸν θεῖον ὄρκ[ον]
 15 μηδὲν διεψεῦσθαι.
 ἔστι δέ.
 (vac.)
 6 δι' 9–11 I. ἐγγεγραμμένην . . . χειρίζομεν

ἀσήμερον λί(τρας) α (δην. μνρ.) ςω.
 (vac.)
 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατεῖαν
 Κηρωρίου Δατιανοῦ
 20 πατρικίου καὶ Νηρητίου
 Κερ]εαλίου τ[ὴν] λαμ(προτάτων) Τύβι λ.
 (m. 2) Ἀγρήλιος Διόσκορος
 προσφω]νῶ ὡς πρόκειται.
 Ἀγρ(ήλιος) Μ]έλας ἔγρ[α]ψ[α]
]. γρα[.]
 17 λα×Γ ςω 20 I. Νηρητίου 21 λαμς 23 I. πρόκειται

'To Flavius . . . , logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the guild of silversmiths of the same city, by agency of Dioscorus.

'We report at our own financial risk that the price entered below for the saleable goods which we handle has been in force during this month and we swear the divine oath that we have made no false statement.

'Viz: For one pound of silver, 68,000,000 denarii.'

'After the consulship of Censorius Datianus, *patricius*, and Neratius Cerealis, *virii clarissimi*, Tybi 30.' (2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Dioscorus, report as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Melas, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

1 The fibres along the top edge are very much frayed and distorted, but the level ends of many of the vertical fibres seem to show that the original edge is partly preserved. If so, the name of the logistes occupied only one short line and this is not sufficient to accommodate the name of the known logistes of later 359, Apollonius alias Theodulus, see 3623, even though the *nomen* was probably abbreviated to Φλ(). The latest list of logistae (*BAASP* 13 (1976) 38–40) contains no names near enough to 359 to be candidates.

The *nomen* is likely to have been Flavius, see *ZPE* 11 (1973) 49, and the traces favour Φλ' = Φλ(ασούω). Aurelius is also theoretically possible, see XLVI 3306 1 n., 3308–11 introd., but it is not likely in this case.

8 For the meaning of ἰδίῳ τιμήματι see XLIII 3105 4 n.

17 The sign denoting thousands is here an oblique stroke running up to the figure from below on the left. Cf. P. Ryl. IV p. 162 n. 3.

The price is an addition to our meagre information about the price of silver bullion, viz:

Dioelet., <i>Edict. de pret.</i> 28. 9 (Giacchero)	6,000 den.	301
SB VI 9253	8,000 den.	s.d.
PSI IV 310	8,328 den.	11.8.306
3624	68,000,000 den.	25.1.359
3629	190,000,000 den.	fifth cent.
3629	192,500,000 den.	fifth cent.
3628, 3630, 3631, 3633	195,000,000 den.	fifth cent.
3628, 3632	200,000,000 den.	fifth cent.

19 Κηρωρίου Δατιανοῦ. Cf. *PLRE* i 243–4, O. Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius* 113–17. His *nomen*, also in 3625 18, was not known.

20 πατρικίου. See T. D. Barnes, *Phoenix* 29 (Toronto, 1975) 169, 'Constantine converted the patriciate from an inheritable status to a rank bestowed upon an individual for his lifetime alone (Zosimus 2. 40. 2)'. According to the same author, *ibid.*, Datianus was hitherto first attested as *patricius* on 18 January 360 (*C. Theod.* xi 1. 1), so that this document of 25 January 359 is now the earliest evidence.

25 Various versions of the clause certifying the illiteracy of the principal might be restored, e.g. ν) (= ὑπὲρ) αὐτοῦ] ἢ γρά[μματα μὴ εἰδότες, or ὑπὲρ α.] (= αὐτοῦ] γρ. μὴ εἰδ., or ν) (= ὑπὲρ) αὐτοῦ] ἀγρ[αμμάτου ἄντος.

3625

iii

Φλ. . . . [. . .]

λογιστῆ [Ϟ]ξ[υ]ρ[υ]γχέειτ[ο]υ

παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν

ἀρτοκόπων τῆς αὐ-

5 τῆς πόλεως

δι(ἀ) Λεοντίου.

προσφωνο[υ]μεν ἰδ[ί-]

ω τιμήματι τὴν ἐξῆς

14 ἐνγεγραμμένην τι-

10 μὴν ὧν χειρίζομεν

ἄντων εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῦ-

δε τοῦ μηνός καὶ ὀμνύο-

μεν τὸν θεῖον ὄρκον

μηδὲν διεψεῦσθαι.

15 ἔστι δέ.

cίτου (ἀρτάβης) α (δην. μυρ.) c, ς.

(vac.)

μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν

Κηνσωρίου Δατιανοῦ

πατρικίου καὶ Νηρετίου

20 Κερεαλίου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων)

Τῦβι λ.

6 δι'
20 λαμς

9 l. ἐνγεγραμμένην

10 l. χειρίζομεν

16 --α×ο

19 l. Νηρατίου

'To Flavius . . . , logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the guild of bakers of the same city, by agency of Leontius.

'We report at our own financial risk that the price entered below for the salcable goods which we handle has been in force during this month and we swear the divine oath that we have made no false statement.

'Viz.: For one artaba of wheat, 2,050,000 (?) denarii.

'After the consulship of Censorius Datianus, *patricius*, and Neratius Cerealis, *viri clarissimi*, Tybi 30.'

4 ἀρτοκόπων. Cf. I 85 introd. The document mentioned there is the equivalent declaration for 26 November 338, and has now been published by R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 118.

16 c, ς. The second figure is blotted and has probably been altered or even cancelled. The last is probably epsilon = 5, just possibly alpha = 1. In 3628-33, of the fifth century, the prices of wheat range from 240 to 500 myriads of denarii at this period of the year in different areas of Middle Egypt. The Oxyrhynchite figure is den. myr. 316½ (12 art. per solidus of den. myr. 3,800), so that the figure here ought to be below that. We might possibly read ε[.].]ϡ (205), or, if the middle figure is corrected rather than cancelled, εϡϡ (215), or εϡϡ (225), or ελϡ (235). Higher numbers, μ, ν, ξ, ο, π, ρ (40-90), seem not to be compatible with the remains in second place.

It is worth noting that the inflation of the official price of wheat in the interval between 3625 and 3628-33 is proportionately very much less than that of the price of silver bullion, see 3624 17 n. One guess at the reason might be that the government controlled the price of wheat to avoid discontent, but the variations attested by 3628-33 speak rather against that idea, and we should probably look for economic causes.

A difference is also to be observed in the relations between the prices of wheat and barley. In 338 (I 85 introd., *ZPE* 39 (1980) 115-23) wheat cost 24 talents (36,000 den.) per artaba, barley 19½ talents (20,000 den.), while at the date of 3628-33 wheat cost 240-500 myriads of denarii, barley 225-400 myriads. The gap between wheat and barley diminished greatly. This case too might suggest that the price of wheat was controlled, but a diminution in the supply of barley, for example, might have produced the same effect in the figures.

3626

iv

Φλ. . . . [
 λογιστῆ [Ὁξυρνηχίτου
 παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν
 ταρκακρίων τῆς αὐτῆς
 5 πόλεως
 δι(ἀ)
 προσφωνοῦμεν
 ἰδίῳ τιμῆματι τὴν
 ἐξῆς. ἐν γὰρ χαμμή-
 10 νην τιμὴν ὧν χι-
 ρίζομεν ὧν ἴων εἶναι
 ἐπὶ τοῦδε τῶν μηνῶν καὶ
 ὀμνύομεν τῶν θεῶν
 ὄρκον μηδὲν διεψεύ-
 15 σθαι. ἔστι δέ.
 ὀθόνης παντοῖ(α)ς τοῦ τετρα-
 λάσσου. δαλμ(ατ)ικ(ῶν) γυναικ(εῖων) ταρκακ(ῶν)
 μεγάλο(υ) μέτρ(ου) α' εἶδ(έα)ς (δην. μυρ.) (vac.)
 β' εἶδέας (δην. μυρ.) (vac.)
 20 γ' εἶδέας (δην. μυρ.) (vac.)
 ἀναβολ() ὁμοί(ως) α' εἶδ(έα)ς (δην. μυρ.) (vac.)
 β' εἶδέας (δην. μυρ.) (vac.)
 γ' εἶδέας (δην. μυρ.) (vac.)
 στιχ() ὁμοί(ως) α' εἶδ(έα)ς (δην. μυρ.) (vac.)
 25 β' εἶδέας (δην. μυρ.) (vac.)
 γ' εἶδέας (δην. μυρ.) (vac.)
 φακιαλ(ῶν) ὁμοί(ως)
 α' εἶδέας (δην. μυρ.) (vac.)
 β['] εἶ[']δέας (δην. μυρ.) (vac.)
 γ['] εἶδ[']ξας (δην. [μυρ.]

6 δι' 9-11 I. ἐγγεγραμμένην . . . χειρίζομεν 16 παντοῖ 17 δαλμ(ατ)ικ(ῶν) γυναικ(εῖων) ταρκακ(ῶν)
 18 μεγαλ(ατ)ικ(ῶν) μέτρ(ου) α' εἶδ(έα)ς (so also 19-26, 28-30) 19 * (and so throughout) 21 ἀναβολ(ῶν) ὁμοί(ως) α' εἶδ(έα)ς
 24 στιχ(ῶν) ὁμοί(ως) α' εἶδ(έα)ς 27 φακιαλ(ῶν) ὁμοί(ως) α' εἶδ(έα)ς

'To Flavius . . . , logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the guild of Tarsian weavers of the same city, by agency of . . .

'We report at our own financial risk that the price entered below for the saleable goods which we handle has been in force during this month and we swear the divine oath that we have made no false statement.

'Viz: For the quaternion of every category of linen:

'Ladies' Tarsian sleeved tunics, large size, 1st quality (blank) myriads of denarii, 2nd quality (blank) myriads of denarii, 3rd quality (blank) myriads of denarii.

'Shawls likewise, 1st quality (blank) myriads of denarii, 2nd quality (blank) myriads of denarii, 3rd quality (blank) myriads of denarii.

'Tunics likewise, 1st quality (blank) myriads of denarii, 2nd quality (blank) myriads of denarii, 3rd quality (blank) myriads of denarii.

'Facecloths likewise, 1st quality (blank) myriads of denarii, 2nd quality (blank) myriads of denarii, 3rd quality (blank) myriads of denarii. . . .

4 ταρκακρίων. For bibliography see S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* 274, citing especially J. P. Wild, 'The tarsikarios, a Roman Linen-Weaver in Egypt', in *Hommages à M. Renard* ii 810-19. The nature of Tarsian woven goods is still not known. The yarn used was already identified as Tarsian, see P. Lips. 89, where *λόν λευκόν ταρκακόν* should mean 'white linen Tarsian yarn', because it is measured in *λίτραι*. The loom was also specialized, see the *ἱερός ταρκακρικός* in XIV 1705. Wild suggests that it was a warp-weighted loom. In the price edict many linen goods are separated into five categories named after cities in or near Syria, namely Scythopolitan, Tarsian, Byblian, Laodicean, and Tarsico-Alexandrian. The order is invariable and the prices are in descending order. Each category may be divided into three qualities, as here. Presumably the last category was an Alexandrian imitation of Tarsian goods and judged inferior to the original. The goods meant here will probably have been equivalent or inferior to the edict's Tarsico-Alexandrian category.

16-17 *ὀθόνης παντοῖ(α)ς τοῦ τετραλάσσου*, 'for the quaternion of every category of linen cloth'. The prices—unfortunately never entered—were to apply to a unit called the *τετραλάσσον*, itself of unknown derivation, see S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* 277, 'unerklärt (Viererstück)'. Since Egypt exported a great deal of linen, it is just possible that the root is the Coptic word *ἄαϥ*, 'flax'. Such a coinage, though it is hard to see the need for it, might have become widely enough known in some technical sense to have been employed in the price edict. I am indebted to Dr Colin Walters for drawing my attention to the Coptic word.

The Latin equivalent is *quaternio*, see M. Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani* §26. 257a-262, 266, 267, 268a-270, 271a-3, translated by the editor as 'un gruppo di quattro'. In the edict this unit of measurement appears in connection with two types of linen goods only, namely *sabana* (26. 257a-62) and *mantelia* . . . *sive mappae* (26. 266, 267, 268a-270, 271a-3), and some varieties even of these can be measured by the *tela* or *ἱερός* (*Sabana Gallia*, 254-6; *mantelia villosa Gallia sive mappae—formae primae*, 265-52). The *tela* is the unit commonly applied to linen goods. In contrast, woollen and silk textile goods are priced by the item, see cap. 9 of the edict.

Surviving linen garments from Egypt were woven in one piece, the neck opening and sleeves being produced on the loom, so that the garment could be completed by two seams only, one along each side, either ending at the armholes, or, if there were sleeves, continuing from the armpit outwards along their lower edges, see L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* 55-6, and pl. xli, cf. H. Granger-Taylor, 'Weaving Clothes to Shape in the Ancient World', *Textile History* 13 (1982) 3-25, esp. 22. (I am grateful to Miss Gillian Eastwood of Manchester University for this last reference.) If the same was not usually true for silk and woollen garments, that might explain why the *ἱερός* is specified for linen goods only.

The word *τετραλάσσον* has appeared only once before in the papyri, PSI VIII 971. 17-20, *τετραλασσον* λέντιόν μοι πέμψον ἱερόν πρωτοφανατον (= πρωτοφανατον).

Compare also *διλάσσον*, which occurs in two papyri, BGU III 814. 23-5, ἡ μήτηρ Οὐαλερίου ἐπέμψε αὐτῷ ζεύγος ὀποζωνῶν καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ διλάσσον καὶ διακοσίας δραχμάς, and 816. 16-18, καὶ καταβένον (= καταβαίνων) δὺς (= ὄγος for ὄγος) τὸ διλα[σ]ον (= διλάσσον) αὐτῷ (= αὐτῷ) καὶ χιθῶνα (= χιτῶνα); 22, καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκέ μοι τὸ [δ]ιλάσσον (= διλάσσον). If this were taken to mean 'pair', it would appear to be restricted to linen goods. Note the *ζεύγος ὀποζωνῶν* in BGU 814. 24.

A diminutive, *διλάσσον*, occurs in P. Heid. III 237. 9-11, ἐν οἷς ἦν ἱμάτιον . . . καὶ κερβικίον . . . [καὶ] διλάσσον[ον] καὶ] πλάσιον.

Finally, in a bilingual text published by A. C. Dionisotti, *JRS* 72 (1982) 83-125, we find a boy who washes himself in the morning and then demands, ὄος ἑπενταλασσον ἐμγαγιον (l. 11, p. 98) or *da sabanum extersorium*. In

view of the edict and the papyri it looks as if *πεντάλακ(εῖ)ον ἐγμαγείον* is perfectly correct. Clearly the boy wants a towel and not a set of five of anything. The stem of these words may have come to denote a unit of square measure.

17 *δαμ(ατ)ικ(ών) γυναικ(είων)*. The edict's chapter on linen goods is arranged differently (Giacchero 26. 1-27. 5 = Lauffer 26. 1-28. 74, Supp. pp. 301-2, 303-4). It begins with *τρίχαι*, cf. 24 below, not differentiated by sex, then follow dalmatics divided according to sex and quality, i.e. women's first class (5 categories), men's first class (5 categories), women's second class (5 categories), etc. Women's dalmatics were more expensive for the same quality than men's. Then come *ἀναβολαῖα* (78), followed by *φακιάλια* (99).

18 *μεγάλο(ν) μέτρο(ν)* appears to be the only plausible expansion of the abbreviations. Sizes are not given in the edict. The expression may suggest that women's dalmatics were longer than men's, which is perhaps also implied by the edict's higher prices for women's dalmatics and by the description of men's dalmatics as *δαλματικῶν ἀνδρείων ἤτοι κολοβίων* (26. 39, 49, etc.). This interpretation does not agree with that of Lauffer, who produces one authority to show that a dalmatic is a sleeved tunic (19, 9 n.), and another to show that a *colobium* is a long sleeveless tunic (26. 28-63 n.). However, *ἤτοι* should indicate that *colobium* is only another name for a man's dalmatic.

αῖ (= *πρώτης*) *εἰδ(έας)*. Here *ἰδέα* is the equivalent of *forma/φόρμα*, meaning 'quality', in the price edict, see R. A. Colcs, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 235 n. 53.

21 *ἀναβολ()*. The edict refers to *ἀναβολαῖα*, but this version has not yet appeared in the papyri, which have *ἀναβολάδιον* and *ἀνάβολον* as the names of garments. These are usually translated as 'cloaks', but may be rather narrow wraps like a Scotch plaid, see P. Beatty Panop. 2. 26 and n. Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani*, p. 296, translates it as 'scialli' = 'shawls', which I have copied.

24 *τρίχ()*. The form used in the price-edict is *τρίχη*, which does not occur in the papyri, though they have *τρίχαιρον* frequently in the same sense.

3627. JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS

49 5B.105/B(1)a,
(2)a, and (3-4)a

69 × 25.5 cm

Late fourth century?

At the end of this text judgement is delivered by a prefect with a name, Junius Olympus, which is the same as that of a man who served as *praeses Arabiae* in 262/3, see 8 n. Probably about a hundred years separated them, but they may have been related in some way. The prefect is perhaps to be identified with the Olympus who served in 362-3.

A certain Asclepiades is accused of having taken possession wrongfully of a house belonging to the other party, apparently in distraint for debt. His adversary asks that Asclepiades should be compelled to attend an audit of accounts and to restore the house, or, if he refuses, that he should be brought to court. The prefect orders arbitrators to draw up an account, adding further conditional promises of satisfaction.

There is one puzzling feature. The form of the introduction of the judgement, *Τούτοις Ὀλυμπος ὁ λαμπρό[τα]τος ἑπαρχος ἔλεπεν*, leaves no reasonable doubt that Olympus was prefect of Egypt and that this section at least is from a report of court proceedings. However, the preceding section, with the address *ἡγεμῶ[ν] κύριε* (6) and with the closing formula *καὶ διὰ παντὸς τ[ῆ]ς λαμπρότητι εὐχαριστήσω* (7), has all the appearance of a petition. Moreover, *ἡγεμῶν* at this date should refer to a *praeses* and should not be addressed to the prefect of Egypt, see C. Vandersleyen, *La Chronologie des préfets* 100-1. Probably a petition to a *praeses* was cited in court before the prefect, because, if the penultimate section is a speech, *ἡγεμῶ[ν] κύριε* is addressed to a prefect and contradicts the conclusions of Vandersleyen. A more remote possibility is that the prefect's judgement is cited at the foot of the petition to a *praeses* which it is supposed to support. In that case, however, we would expect it to be preceded by some introductory formula.

There is a deep lower margin of c. 11 cm, above which are remains of nine very long lines, progressively more damaged as they are further from the foot. About twenty fragments and scraps in a fragile condition have remained unplaced; several are blank; none has enough legible letters to be worth printing. It is uncertain how much is lost. Possibly the entire text was contained in this one very wide column, of unknown height.

There is a pattern of seventeen vertical folds dividing the papyrus into eighteen panels, of decreasing width from left to right. The first panel on the left is c. 4.25 cm broad, the last on the right c. 2 cm. This pattern shows that the strip of roll bearing the text was pressed flat after being rolled up with the right edge inside, as usual.

There are four joins in the piece, roughly 6, 24, 42, and 60 cm from the left hand edge, that is, each sheet is close to 18 cm in width. The back is blank.

3628-3636. COMMODITY PRICES AND TAX ACCOUNTS

c. 176? (estimated) × 32 cm

Fifth century

All these items stood on the same opisthograph roll. They are of great interest for the financial administration of the Middle Egyptian province of Arcadia, and must reflect to some extent the procedures used all over the Eastern provinces of the Empire. The items are of two types, lists of commodity prices for six of the nine nomes of the province (3628-33), and summaries of various taxes for the whole province, giving, so far as they are preserved, the total assessment and notes of receipts forwarded to Alexandria and of arrears (3634-6). Blank spaces were left on the face of the roll for schedules of prices for the other three nomes and these spaces were never filled, see below. Probably the roll was compiled as a memorandum in a government office and for some reason never completed.

The commodity prices are prefaced by a general heading, which runs: 'Schedule of purchasable goods on sale in the market place, for each city in accordance with the schedules submitted by the *tabularii* of each city for the ninth indiction, viz.'. There follow for each nome three lists of the prices of eleven staple commodities, one list for each of the three *quadrimestra* into which the indictional year was divided. It is obvious that there is some connection here with the *quadrimestri breves*, returns from the provinces to the praetorian prefects containing information upon which to base the next year's tax demands, see 5-6 n.

The figures can be best presented in a series of tables for each product, see below. The prices of silver bullion and unworked silver are given in terms of gold solidi, which means in effect that they are less prices than fixed ratios of silver to gold. For the sake of comparison all the other prices are given in the tables in myriads of denarii, which is the usual way the texts present them, although they occasionally use the same system as for silver, e.g. 13 artabas of wheat per solidus. In these cases the figures and calculations are given in round brackets, and the same brackets are used for the wine prices, which are given in the texts for either seven or eight sextarii, and are calculated for one sextarius in the tables.

Gold, den. myr. per sol.:

	Sept.-Dec.	Jan.-Apr.	May-Aug.
Cynopolite (3628)	4,000	3,900	3,900
Oxyrhynchite (3629)	3,800	[]	3,850
Uncertain (3630)	3,900	3,900	3,900
Uncertain (3631)	[]	[]	3,900
Arsinoite (3632)	4,000	[]	4,000
Aphroditopolite (3633)	3,900	3,900	[]

Silver: Steady everywhere at 5 sol. per lb.

Unworked silver: Steady everywhere at 4½ sol. per lb.

Wheat, den. myr. per art.:

	Sept.-Dec.	Jan.-Apr.	May-Aug.
Cynopolite (3628)	(307½; ⁴⁰⁰⁰ / ₁₃)	(300; ³⁹⁰⁰ / ₁₃)	(325; ³⁹⁰⁰ / ₁₂)
Oxyrhynchite (3629)	(316½; ³⁹⁰⁰ / ₁₂)	[]	[]
Uncertain (3630)	450	500	500
Uncertain (3631)	[]	[]	450
Arsinoite (3632)	240	[]	240
Aphroditopolite (3633)	450	450	[]

Barley, den. myr. per art.:

	Sept.-Dec.	Jan.-Apr.	May-Aug.
Cynopolite (3628)	(285½; ⁴⁰⁰⁰ / ₁₄)	(278½; ³⁹⁰⁰ / ₁₄)	(300; ³⁹⁰⁰ / ₁₃)
Oxyrhynchite (3629)	(292½; ³⁹⁰⁰ / ₁₃)	[]	[]
Uncertain (3630)	270	400	270
Uncertain (3631)	[]	[]	[]
Arsinoite (3632)	225	225	225
Aphroditopolite (3633)	225	[]	[]

Lentils, den. myr. per art.:

	Sept.-Dec.	Jan.-Apr.	May-Aug.
Cynopolite (3628)	(400; ⁴⁰⁰⁰ / ₁₀)	(433½; ³⁹⁰⁰ / ₉)	[]
Oxyrhynchite (3629)	(475; ³⁹⁰⁰ / ₈)	[]	[]
Uncertain (3630)	430	400	400
Uncertain (3631)	[]	400	400
Arsinoite (3632)	360	360	[]
Aphroditopolite (3633)	360	[]	[]

Chaff, den. myr. per lb.:

	Sept.-Dec.	Jan.-Apr.	May-Aug.
Cynopolite (3628)	1½	1½	1½
Oxyrhynchite (3629)	1½	1½	[]
Uncertain (3630)	1½	1½	1½
Uncertain (3631)	[]	1½	1½
Arsinoite (3632)	1½	1½	[]
Aphroditopolite (3633)	1½	[]	[]

Wine, den. myr. per sextarius:

	Sept.-Dec.	Jan.-Apr.	May-Aug.
Cynopolite (3628)	(20 $\frac{5}{8}$; 1 $\frac{65}{8}$)	(20 $\frac{5}{8}$; 1 $\frac{65}{8}$)	(22 $\frac{1}{2}$; 1 $\frac{80}{8}$?)
Oxyrhynchite (3629)	(?)	(22 $\frac{1}{2}$; 1 $\frac{80}{8}$)	[]
Uncertain (3630)	(21 $\frac{3}{4}$; 1 $\frac{50}{8}$)	(23 $\frac{1}{2}$; 1 $\frac{65}{8}$)	(28 $\frac{1}{2}$; 2 $\frac{00}{8}$)
Uncertain (3631)	[]	(? ; 2 $\frac{00}{8}$)	[]
Arsinoite (3632)	(20; 1 $\frac{60}{8}$)	(23 $\frac{1}{2}$; 1 $\frac{80}{8}$)	(27 $\frac{1}{2}$; 2 $\frac{20}{8}$)
Aphroditopolite (3633)	(28 $\frac{1}{2}$?; 2 $\frac{00}{8}$?)	[]	(28 $\frac{1}{2}$?; 2 $\frac{00}{8}$?)

Meat, den. myr. per lb.:

	Sept.-Dec.	Jan.-Apr.	May-Aug.
Cynopolite (3628)	24	24	24
Oxyrhynchite (3629)	24	24	[]
Uncertain (3630)	30	30	30
Uncertain (3631)	[]	30	[]
Arsinoite (3632)	24	24	[]
Aphroditopolite (3633)	30	[]	30

Salt, den. myr. per art.:

	Sept.-Dec.	Jan.-Apr.	May-Aug.
Cynopolite (3628)	150	150	150
Oxyrhynchite (3629)	150?	150	[]
Uncertain (3630)	150	150	150
Uncertain (3631)	[]	150	150
Arsinoite (3632)	150	150	[]
Aphroditopolite (3633)	150	[]	150?

Radish oil, den. myr. per sextarius:

	Sept.-Dec.	Jan.-Apr.	May-Aug.
Cynopolite (3628)	80	80	80?
Oxyrhynchite (3629)	[]	80	[]
Uncertain (3630)	105	105	105
Uncertain (3631)	[]	105	[]
Arsinoite (3632)	75	75	75 ²
Aphroditopolite (3633)	105	[]	105

There is useful information here, but it will take a great deal of careful consideration by experts before it can be assimilated. The first great problem is to come to some sort of conclusion about how the figures relate to real transactions in the market-places. The variations seem to indicate that the market was in some sense free, but, if it was free, the prices cannot have remained fixed for four months in each case and then clicked up or

down a notch only at the beginning of a *quadrimestrum*. Possibly the prices are averages, or they might be records of some system of government price-fixing. Perhaps, even, they might be the prices for the compulsory purchase of goods by the state, the *coemptio* or *κυρωτή*, or the prices paid for *adaeratio*, the commutation for money of taxes payable in these commodities. Only new evidence can help us here. The same sorts of problem arise in connection with the declarations of prices by guilds, see 3624-6 introd., where I have favoured the idea that the market prices were required as a standard for the commutation of payments of *annona* and for the purchase of *annonariae species*.

We also learn another lesson about the difficulties of comparing isolated prices, to add to those in R. S. Bagnall and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 114-16. Here, although the ratio of gold to silver is fixed, and some commodities remain very steady in money terms, notably chaff and salt, there is a fairly wide range of variation by season and even more by location, though the prices cover a comparatively small region, the nomes of Middle Egypt. R. P. Duncan-Jones, *Chiron* 6 (1976) 243-5, discussing variations in grain prices under the principate, talks chiefly of differences between Upper and Lower Egypt.

It is very unfortunate that the date of the roll is indicated only by the mentions of a ninth indiction, which had evidently just ended. The roll itself must have been written early in some tenth indiction. The list of nomes in 3636 2 makes it clear that we are dealing with the province of Arcadia, see note. The earliest documentary reference to Arcadia comes from 411 (SPP XX 117; on which see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Mnemosyne*, ser. 4, 31 (1978) 287-93, cf. 3639 introd.). A *terminus post quem* is said to be supplied by *C. Theod.* i 14, 1 of 17 February 386, which is addressed to Florentius, *praefectus Augustalis*, and mentions tax collection in the Thebaid and Augustamnica, but not in Arcadia, cf. M. Gelzer, *Stud. z. byz. Verwaltung Ägyptens* 8-9. A certain amount of suspicion is cast on this date by problems connected with the list of Augustal praefects, see C. Vandersleyen, *La Chronologie des préfets* 164-81, but Vandersleyen accepts it as correct in the end. If this is near enough right, the earliest possible ninth indiction is 395/6.

Arguments for the date can be derived from the commodity prices themselves, but they are very flimsy, both because of the shortage of other information and because by the fifth century the period of continuous inflation was ending and it is not possible to be sure that higher prices always indicate a later date. The strongest argument of this kind seems to be one derived from the prices of radish oil. The rates here are higher than that specified in P. Mich. XI 613 of 415, which suggests that our roll is later, if we make the assumption that inflation was still continuing. There 150 solidi are delivered to the head of the administrative staff of the *praeses* of Arcadia as the price of 9,000 sextarii of radish oil which is to be bought by compulsory purchase for supplying the city of Alexandria. The rate is 60 sextarii per solidus. Our three prices for one sextarius of radish oil are 75, 80, and 105 myriads of denarii, so that 60 sextarii would cost 4,500, 4,800, or 6,300 den. myr., somewhat more than one solidus, which ranges here from 3,800 to 4,000 den. myr. The higher rates in our roll may, therefore, indicate a somewhat later date, and the next ninth indiction after 415 is 425/6.

The other prices are not of much help. Although there are useful supplements for the fourth century in R. S. Bagnall and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 24 (1977) 111–124, and *ZPE* 27 (1977) 161–4, the standard collection is still A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt, Economic Studies* 176–82. For wheat there are no well-dated examples between *post*-345 and 539 (p. 177); for wine no well-dated examples between c.350 and 454 (p. 178). This last, P. Lond. V 1773, supposedly gives a price of 50,000 talents for 100 *cnidia*, but it is unusable both because of uncertainty about the size of the *cnidium*—at 8 *sextarii* per *cnidium* (see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* i 447, but cf. L. Casson, *TAPA* 94 (1939) 7, 11) the price is absurdly low—and because the fragmentary text is suspiciously ungrammatical, . . . *γάλατα μυριάδας πέντε* . . . Lentils, salt, chaff, and radish oil do not appear. One document of 390, XIV 1753, gives prices for meat (?) and oil which may be compared with ours, see Johnson and West, pp. 182, 185, but with no very satisfactory results. There three and a half pounds of meat (?) cost 105 den. *myr.*, so that one pound cost 30 den. *myr.* In our documents there are two rates, one precisely the same as this and one lower, 24 den. *myr.*, see table above. However, it was the lower price which prevailed in the Oxyrhynchite nome, from which we might deduce that our document is before 390, but this is impossible if it is after 386 and refers to a ninth indiction. The words *ὑπὲρ κρέως* are restored in XIV 1753 4, because the commodity is measured in pounds. No other supplement seems so likely, but some uncertainty remains. In 1753 2 eighty *sextarii* of oil of some kind (*έλαιον χρηστόν*), perhaps olive oil, are reckoned at two *solidi*, which at our top rate of 4,000 den. *myr.* per *solidus* would be 100 den. *myr.* per *sextarius*, very close to the rates here of 75, 80 and 105, see table above. However, that was probably better than radish oil, see the story from the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 65, col. 145A), quoted in P. Mich. XI 613. 4n. and P. Ross.—Georg. II 41. 54n., in which guests presented with radish oil (*ράφανέλαιον*) ask for *χρήσιμον έλαιον* and receive the reply that the host knows no oil but radish oil. In AD 390, therefore, radish oil was probably cheaper than it was in our text, and our text should be later. This argument at least rests on an unrestored text and may be regarded as stronger than the other, but still the doubt remains.

For barley Johnson and West give us no fifth-century prices at all, and only one rather unhelpful price, for 388, which is at all near to the right period (p. 176). In P. Lips. I 63 the rate is 30 *modii* per *solidus*. We do not know the monetary value of the *solidus* in 388, so it will be best to convert this to *artabas* per *solidus* at $3\frac{1}{2}$ *modii* per *artaba*. The rate is equivalent to 9 *art.* per *sol.* This is extremely expensive by the standards of our documents, which give rates of 14 and 13 *art.* per *sol.*, see table, for the Cynopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes. The reasons may lie in the location concerned, which is Coptos in the Thebaid, a less fertile area than Middle Egypt, and in the fact that this is an *adaeratio* of a levy payable in barley and so may be regarded as a penalty price.

For barley in the Oxyrhynchite nome a late fourth-century rate of 225 den. *myr.* per *art.* is given by XLVIII 3410, part of an archive which ranges at least from 331 to 371 (XLVIII p. 74). Here 225 den. *myr.* is the price of an *artaba* in the Arsinoite and

Aphroditopolite nomes, but in the Oxyrhynchite the price is over 290 den. *myr.*, which indicates that these documents are later than 3410, but allows no more specific conclusion. Dr Shelton, in 3410 *introd.*, has shown that it belongs in the later years of the archive by reference to a range of fourth-century barley prices, including especially P. Col. VII 182 and 184. These, dated 372, give barley prices equivalent to 75 and 90 den. *myr.* However, these prices are artificially low because the transactions purport to be sales in advance but are thought to be concealed loans (R. S. Bagnall, *GRBS* 18 (1977) 85–96, cf. *ZPE* 24 (1977) 118 (foot) with n. 28, cf. p. 117 n. 24). They are also from the Arsinoite nome, which has low grain prices here. However, all we can argue from these examples is that our documents are later than 372, which we had concluded already.

Palaeography also is of very little help. Indeed it is rarely useful when it is a question of assigning dates within close limits and in this case the difficulties are greater than usual. The fifth century continues to be poorly represented by papyri (R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Laur. VII), 13–23, esp. 22), and its palaeography is correspondingly unfamiliar (W. Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie* 90). The writing here, see Pl. VII, has the very upright stance found in so many fifth-century hands but no features which I can recognize as early or late. For a range of fifth-century scripts see P. Mich. XI 613 (pl. iii; AD 415); P. Mich. XV 730 (pl. xxii; AD 430); P. Wisc. I 10 (pl. iv; AD 468—on a larger scale in E. Boswinkel and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri*, no. 45); P. Mich. XV 731 (pl. xxii; AD 499). It is especially chastening to look at P. Mich. XV pl. xxii and speculate how far these two hands could have been dated by palaeographical criteria, even though they are separated by over sixty years.

The original layout of the roll is not fully known. Six fragments survive. Two join physically to give what is clearly the beginning of the roll on the recto (3628, 3629—commodity prices), and therefore the end of the roll on the verso (3635, 3636—tax accounts). Three other fragments come together on the evidence of shared recto fibres. One of the two joins involved is confirmed on the verso by the texts of 3631 and 3632 (commodity prices), which are shared between two fragments both blank on the recto. The other fragment of this group, which contains 3630 on the recto and 3633 on the verso, both commodity prices, is linked only by the recto fibres, which show clearly, however, that it stood immediately on the left of the two already joined on the recto and therefore on the right of them on the verso. The final isolated fragment is blank on the recto and contains 3634 (tax account) on the verso. It does not physically join at any point, but 3634 is the same type of text as 3635 and 3636 and the wide blank margin surviving at the right of 3629 could be part of the sheet which ends at a sheet-join in the blank recto of 3634, so that it is probably nearer to the first group than the second.

Having got this far we can see that the clerk started with a roll of a definite limited size, put it down before him in the usual orientation so that the sheet joins stepped down from left to right, see E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* 5, and began at the top left with the general heading in 3628. After writing 3628 and 3629 he left a blank of unknown width, parts of which survive at the right of 3629 and on the recto of 3634. He resumed writing

either where **3630** begins or at a point before that where some papyrus is lost. After writing **3630** he left another large blank space which we can see on the rectos of **3631** and **3632**. The right edge of the roll is lost, but there need not have been, and probably was not, more than a width of about 10–15 cm of papyrus to accommodate the beginnings of lines of **3631** on the verso, since the blank spaces on the recto that we can see would probably have been sufficient to take the entries for the three nomes which are missing. After writing **3630** and leaving the end of the roll blank, therefore, he turned the roll over—from left to right or from right to left, but not from top to bottom or bottom to top—and began writing again from the top left on the verso. He wrote three items, **3631–3**, still commodity prices, continuously without leaving any blanks. There followed a portion of the roll now largely lost, but of which **3634** was part, a tax account like the final items **3635** and **3636**.

Two considerations, one textual, the other physical, imply that the gap in the middle of the roll is a fairly large one. The fact that **3634–6** all begin *καὶ ἀπὸ λόγου* suggests that we have lost an item of the same sort that began simply *ἀπὸ λόγου* or with some general heading followed by *ἀπὸ λόγου*. A sizable loss here is also implied by the fibres of the recto of **3634**, which has a sheet join down the middle. The fibres on the left of the join look similar enough to those on the right edge of **3629** to have been part of the same sheet, while those on the right of the join look utterly different from those on the left side of **3630**. If this is right, a whole sheet, *c.* 20–4 cm wide, of the original roll has been lost, probably containing a tax account on the verso and possibly containing a list of commodity prices on the recto.

Attempts to identify the uncertain nomes referred to in **3630** and **3631** have failed. We can see from the list of nine nomes in **3636 2** that we are dealing with the province of Arcadia, see *n.*, and the fact that blanks were left on the face of the roll suggests that a fixed order of nomes was in the writer's mind. We might have hoped to discover what this order was from **3636 2** and the similar lists of the cities of the province in Hierocles, *Synecdemus* (ed. H. Gelzer, *Bibl. Teubn.*) 729. 2–730. 4, and Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio Orbis Romani* (ed. H. Gelzer, *Bibl. Teubn.*) 745–751a. The result is this:

3628–36	Hierocles	Georgius	3636 2
Cynop. (3628)	Cynopolis	Oxyrhynchus (metropolis)	Cynop.
Oxy. (3629)	Oxyrhynchus	Heracleopolis	Oxy.
Blank	Heracleopolis	Cynopolis	Herac.
(Blank/Uncertain?)	Arsinoe	Nilopolis	Nilop.
Uncertain (3630)	Theodosiopolis	Arsinoe	Aphrod.
Blank	Nilopolis	Theodosiopolis	Memph.
Uncertain (3631)	Aphroditopolis	Aphroditopolis	Letop.
Arsin. (3632)	Memphis	Memphis	Arsin.
Aphrod. (3633)	Letopolis	Letopolis	Theod.

Compare two more lists, which antedate the creation of the province of Arcadia and of the Theodosiopolite nome but concern the same area:

XLVII 3362	P. Med. inv. 211 (<i>Aegyptus</i> 56 (1976) 76)
Cynop.	Letop.
Oxy.	Memph.
Oasis	Aphrod.
Herac.	Nilop.
Nilop.	Arsin.
Arsin.	Herac.
Aphrod.	Oxy.
Memph.	(Cynop. omitted or misplaced).
Letop.	

More or less clearly discernible in all, but least clearly in **3628–33**, is a geographical principle. All proceed from south to north except P. Med. inv. 211, which takes the reverse direction as well as omitting or possibly misplacing the Cynopolite. Unfortunately the Arsinoite and Theodosiopolite nomes lay outside the Nile Valley to the west and this allowed different ways of treating the geography to arise. In **3636 2** the Nile Valley is treated first in strict order and the two westerly nomes are added at the end. Hierocles leaves the Nile Valley after Heracleopolis to include the westerly cities and returns to it at Nilopolis. P. Med. inv. 211 follows the same process in reverse. George of Cyprus leaves the Nile Valley after Nilopolis and returns to it at Aphroditopolis. (His beginning is odd first because he isolates Oxyrhynchus as the metropolis and secondly because in the archetype of the two chief manuscripts Cynopolis was probably left out. It remained missing in one manuscript, Coislinianus 219, and appears after Heracleopolis instead of before it in the second, Barocci 185.) XLVII **3362** follows this order too.

The order of the commodity prices cannot have been organized like the list in **3636 2**, because the Arsinoite occurs before the Aphroditopolite, and not at the end. Since the Nilopolite does not fall between the two, it cannot have been organized like Hierocles or P. Med. inv. 211. It is remotely possible that it could have been organized on a principle similar to that of George of Cyprus and XLVII **3362**, i.e. recto: Cynopolite (**3628**), Oxyrhynchite (**3629**), blank, [Heracleopolite], Nilopolite? (**3630**), blank; verso: Theodosiopolite? (**3631**), Arsinoite (**3632**), Aphroditopolite (**3633**), [Memphite, Letopolite, tax account?], **3634, 3635, 3636**. But this means that the blanks on the recto to assume before, because if two more lists of commodity prices, and possibly another tax account, occurred on the verso, the loss at the middle of the roll must have been as much as 40 or 60 cm, which had only one column *c.* 20 cm wide on the recto. Since no logical order seems to suit the conditions, we cannot easily guess which nomes were concerned in **3630** and **3631**.

3628. COMMODITY PRICES

65 6B.39/E(3)a front

22 x 32 cm

Fifth century

On the back is 3636.

† βρεούιον ἄνιων πιπρασκομένων ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐκάστη πόλει
ἀκολούθως βρεούιοις διδομένοις παρὰ τῶν τ[α][β][ο]υλαρίων
ἐκάστης πόλεως τῆς θ* ἰνδικ(τίωνος) (vac.)
(vac.) ο(ῦτωσ) (vac.)

i

5 Κυνοπολίτου ἐπὶ μηνὸς Θῶθ, Φαῶφι,
Ἀθύρ, Χοιάκ
ο(ῦτωσ)

χρυσοῦ τοῦ νο(μ.) α (δην. μυρ.) δ
ἀργύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α νο(μ.) ε
10 ἀργύρου ἀργ(οῦ) τῆς λί(τρ.) α νο(μ.) δ (ἥμ.) (τέταρτ.) α
κίτου τοῦ νο(μ.) α (ἀρτ.) ιγ
κριθῶν τοῦ νο(μ.) α (ἀρτ.) ιδ
φακοῦ τοῦ νο(μ.) α (ἀρτ.) ι
ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α (δην. μυρ.) α (ἥμ.)
15 οἴνου διὰ ξ(εστ.) η (δην. μυρ.) ρξε
κρέως τῆς λί(τρ.) α (δην. μυρ.) κδ
ἀλός τῆς (ἀρτ.) α (δην. μυρ.) ρν
ἐλαίου ῥεφ(ἀνίνου) τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α (δην. μυρ.) π
(vac.)

ἐπὶ μηνὸς Τύβι, Μεχείρ, Φαμενώθ,
20 Φαρμούθι
ο(ῦτωσ)

χρυσοῦ τοῦ νο(μ.) α (δην. μυρ.) γ λ
ἀργύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α νο(μ.) ε
ἀργύρου ἀργ(οῦ) τῆς λί(τρ.) α νο(μ.) δ (ἥμ.) (τέταρτ.) α
25 κίτου τοῦ νο(μ.) α (ἀρτ.) ιγ

1 βρεούιον 2 βρεούιοις? 3 ἰνδικ||
both throughout 9 λ, and so throughout 10 ἀργ, L, d', and so all three throughout 15 ξ',
and so throughout 17 τ, and so throughout 18 ρεφ', and so throughout; 1. ῥαφανίνου

4 σ—, and so throughout 8 β, κ ρ, and so
10 ἀργ, L, d', and so all three throughout 15 ξ',
18 ρεφ', and so throughout; 1. ῥαφανίνου

ii

κριθῶν τοῦ νο(μ.) α (ἀρτ.) ιδ
φακοῦ τοῦ νο(μ.) α (ἀρτ.) θ
ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α (δην. μυρ.) α (ἥμ.)
οἴνου διὰ ξ(εστ.) η (δην. μυρ.) ρξε
30 κρέως τῆς λί(τρ.) α (δην. μυρ.) κδ
ἀλός τῆς (ἀρτ.) α (δην. μυρ.) ρν
ἐλαίου ῥεφ(ἀνίνου) τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α (δην. μυρ.) π
(vac.)
ἐπὶ μηνὸς Παχῶν, Παῦνι, Ἐ[πεί]φ,
Μεσορή
35 ο(ῦτωσ)
χρυσοῦ τοῦ νο(μ.) α (δην. μυρ.) γ λ
ἀργύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α νο(μ.) ε
ἀργύρου ἀργ(οῦ) <τῆς> λί(τρ.) α νο(μ.) δ (ἥμ.) (τέταρτ.) α
κίτου τοῦ νο(μ.) α (ἀρτ.) ιβ
40 κριθῶν τοῦ νο(μ.) α (ἀρτ.) ιγ
φακοῦ τοῦ νο(μ.) α (ἀρτ.) []
ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α (δην. μυρ.) α (ἥμ.) []
οἴνου διὰ ξ(εστ.) η (δην. μυρ.) ρπ []
κρέως τῆς [λί(τρ.)] α (δην. μυρ.) κδ []
45 ἀλός τῆς (ἀρτ.) α (δην. μυρ.) ρν []
ἐλαίου ῥεφ(ἀνίνου) τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α (δην. μυρ.) . []

'Schedule of purchasable goods on sale in the market place, for each city in accordance with the schedules submitted by the *tabularii* of each city for the 9th indiction, viz.:

Cynopolite	For the months	Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr, Choecac, viz.:	Tybi, Mecheir, Phamenoth, Pharmuthi, viz.:	Pachon, Payni, Epeiph, Mesore, viz.:
Gold per	sol.	den. myr.	4,000	3,900
Silver per	lb.	sol.	5	5
Unworked silver per	lb.	sol.	4½	4½
Wheat per	sol.	art.	13	12
Barley per	sol.	art.	14	13
Lentils per	sol.	art.	10	[]
Chaff per	lb.	den. myr.	1½	1½
Wine per	8 sextarii	den. myr.	165	165
Meat per	lb.	den. myr.	24	24
Salt per	art.	den. myr.	150	150
Radish oil per sextarius		den. myr.	80	80?

1-2 βρέονων, βρεούσιος. Cf. CPR V 10, P. Cair. Isid. 1. 9, 16, where the βρέονίων is Diocletian's schedule of tax assessments mentioned in the edict of Aristius Optatus; 9n. refers us to Diocletian, *Edict. de pret., Praef.* ii, 10, mentioning the *subditi brevis*, 'the schedule given below', which is the famous list of prices. On *quadrimenstrui breves* see 5-6n.

2-3 τ[ο]β[ο]υλαρίων ἐκέκτηρε πόλεως. For the *tabularius ciuitatis* see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* i 600, ii 1248 n. 89. He was chiefly concerned with tax assessment.

3 The ninth indiction remains unidentified, see introd. Those falling in the fifth century are 410/11, 425/6, 440/1, 465/6, 480/1, 495/6.

5-6 These four months form the first third of the Egyptian year, which approximates to the indictional year, the first *quadrimenstruum* in fact. The others follow in 19-20 and 33-4, and these sub-headings appear again in 3629-33. It seems obvious that there is some connection here with the *quadrimenstrui breves*, which were reports on taxation compiled by provincial administrations and returned to the praetorian prefects, who used the information contained in them to control the progress of the collection of taxes in the current year and to form the basis of the assessments for the following year, see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* i 404-5, ii 1164 n. 81; see also the references collected in the index to C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code* 639, svv. tax-lists. . . quadrimestral; tax-payments to be made in three installments. Cf. P. Lond. V 1663, 22, where the period January to April is described as 'the second *quadrimenstruum* (τῆς δευτέρας τετραμήνου) of the present 13th indiction', with R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 24.

8 One gold solidus is equivalent to 4,000 den. myr. The same rate is attested in P. Mich. XV 740, where 2 sol. are equated with 8,000 den. myr. At one point 2 carats (i.e. $\frac{2}{24}$ = $\frac{1}{12}$ of a solidus) are equated with 334 den. myr., which implies a rate slightly higher, that is 4,008 den. myr. per sol., but this is probably a question of rounding up the figures, since $\frac{1}{12}$ of 4,000 comes out inconveniently at 333 $\frac{1}{3}$. P. Mich. 740 is assigned to the sixth century on palaeographical grounds, see pl. xxvi, and may well be of that date, since the period of continuous inflation ends about the fifth century. The editor, P. J. Sijpesteijn, refers us to XIV 1729, assigned to the fourth century, in which he says the solidus is worth 4,500 den. myr. According to my calculations the text implies that $\frac{1}{3}$ of a solidus (νόμισμα ἐν π[α]ρὰ τέταρτον) equals a total of 3,535 den. myr., so that the solidus would be equal to 4,713 $\frac{1}{3}$ den. myr. For a survey of values of the solidus in money see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* i 440, ii 1183-4 n. 74, citing especially himself in *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 5 (1953) 307-9. Add XLVIII 3401 6n. Unfortunately almost all the material can be dated only approximately.

In this year the solidus ranged from 3,800 to 4,000 den. myr., and varied by locality as well as season, see 3628-36 introd. for a table of all the rates given in these texts. However, the documents seem to imply that the rates were valid at least for a four-month period. It may have been so in the transactions—whatever they were—with which the documents are concerned, but we have two texts which show clearly that this was not always the case, see IX 1223 31-3 δ ὀλοκόντινος νῦν μυρ(ιάδων) βε ἐστίν. κατέβη γάρ. 'The solidus stands now at 2,020 myriads; it has come down'; XLVIII 3401 7-13 [ε]πιβ[ε]βαιῶν οὐδ' ἀποστῆναι [μ]οι τὸ κέρμα ἐν τῇ αὐρίῳ, ἐπεὶ περ γέγονεν φήμη περὶ [τ]οῦ χρυσοῦ τῶν τιρώνων καὶ [π]ίστατες ζητῆ (l. ζητοῦσι) νομομα[ρ]ίται καὶ καθ' ἡμέρα (v) ἀναβέν (l. ἀναβαίνε) ἢ [τ]ιμῆ, 'Make haste therefore to send me the money tomorrow, seeing that there has been a rumour about the gold for the recruits and everyone is looking for solidi and the price is going up every day'. Both these texts are undated but belong to the later part of the fourth century. The first might refer to the change of *quadrimenstruum*, but καθ' ἡμέρα (v) shows clearly that the second cannot.

9 The equation 1 lb. silver = 5 sol. remains stable throughout this series of documents. The same rate is specified in C. Theod. xiii 2. 1 of 19 February 397. This is a ratio of gold to silver of 1:14.4. Another order, C. Theod. viii 4. 27 of 19 June 422, specified a lower rate of four solidi per pound of silver (1:18) for *sportulae* paid to *duces* by *primipilares*. (*Primipilares* were members of the staffs of provincial governors, see J. M. Carrié, *Pap. Brux.* 19, 156-76, conveniently summarized by himself in *ZPE* 35 (1979) 219.) Since it is the earlier order which is taken up into Justinian's code (C. Theod. xiii 2. 1 = *CJ* x 78. l.), this has caused some bewilderment, cf. L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 108, but it is perhaps best regarded as a special concessionary rate, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* ii 1184 n. 73. This rate for the commutation of taxes payable in silver actually occurs in a papyrus assigned to the fourth century, see West and Johnson, *Currency* 185-6. If we can regard it as a special rate applicable only to the commutation of some taxes payable in silver, it looks as if the rate for most official purposes was maintained at 1:14.4 from the late fourth century to the mid sixth.

10 ἀργύρον ἀργ(ού) τῆς λί(τρας) α νο(μ.) δ (ἡμ.) (τέταρτ.). This rate is maintained throughout 3628-33. The wording looks at first sight as if it might give the clue to the long-standing puzzle of P. Ant. I 38, a declaration of prices in 300 of two sorts of one substance, one καταργ[α]ζομένου at 62 den. per lb., the other

ἀργού χυτοῦ at 31 den. per lb. In *ed. pr.* ἀργού was presented as ἀργ(υ)ρού (sic), so that the text has ever since bedevilled discussions of the monetary history of the period, but the prices show that the substance cannot be silver. We must still follow the clear statement of M. H. Crawford and J. M. Reynolds in *ZPE* 34 (1979) 164 and reject P. Ant. I 38 as irrelevant, though the puzzle remains unsolved. (The new section of I 85 published by R. A. Coles in *ZPE* 39 (1980) 117, declaring the prices of copper or bronze (χαλκοῦ), τοῦ μὲν ἐλατοῦ λί(τρας) τάλ(αντα) (m. 4) 5 (δραράρα) ἄ. (m. 1) τοῦ δὲ χυτοῦ λί(τρας) α τάλ(αντα) (m. 4) δ, makes an interesting comparison.)

I have not found any other references in the papyri to ἀργυρος ἀργός, and at first it seems surprising that it was considered a staple commodity on the same level as the others. The meaning of ἀργός here is not entirely clear. I presume that ἀργυρος in 9 refers to refined bullion, probably in the form of ingots, and that it is this which is referred to in Diocletian's Price Edict (ed. M. Giaccherio) 28. 9, *de argento hoc est pusula primi*, 'of silver, that is, pure silver of first (quality)', cf. P. G. W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.vv. *pusula* (2 b), *pusulatus*. I presume also that ἀσημον καθάρων in receipts such as P. Col. VII 140 is the same, though ἀσημον is used of jewellery, e.g. BGU I 22. 32 ζεύγος φελλίου (v) ἀργυρῶν ἀσημον ὀλκῆς (δραχμῶν) β, 'a pair of silver armlets, 40 dr. by weight of uncoined silver', and, at least in the diminutive form ἀσημον = ἀσημιον, of plate, see P. Vind. G. 15452. 5-6, as revised by H. C. Youtie, *Scripturae* i 260 = *TAPA* 87 (1956) 64, ὀλκῶν ἀσημον ἑὸς πατελλικ[ε]τον (= -ίων) δύο, ἐμβαφθόν (= -ίων) οὐκτώ, 'some silver plate, at least two dishes and eight saucers'. Obviously ἀργυρος ἀργός here is something less than pure silver. It seems very unlikely to be any rough form straight from the mine. It might be silver in the forms of plate and jewellery, and therefore allotted to some extent, cf. *ZPE* 46 (1982) 247; or it might be cast silver made from melting down such objects, cf. P. Col. VII 141. 23-33, a receipt for cast copper which required refining, see XLVIII p. xvii (n. on XXXIII 2673 22). These forms of silver could quite reasonably be tarified at $\frac{1}{16}$ of the value of pure silver bullion and must have been quite commonly traded in the towns of Egypt.

11 The rate of 13 art. of wheat per sol. is one actually given in a story relating to the abbot Pachomius from the fourth century, see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* i 445. The story implies that it was a normal one, though it was illicitly offered at a time when there was a famine and the prevailing price was 5 or 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ art. per sol.

See 3628-36 introd. for a table of all the wheat prices given in the documents. They show very clearly how impossible it is to give a normal price for wheat, see Jones, loc. cit. The low prices in the Arsinoite nome are particularly interesting. It is well known that Arsinoite villages which are familiar to us from the papyri, such as Theadelphia and Dionysias, were becoming depopulated in the early fourth century and were entirely abandoned not long after, cf. e.g. H. Braunert, *Binnenwanderung* 310-13, 328-33, yet the reason for the low prices in the Arsinoite nome here must surely be that there was still an abundance of wheat there. The same good agricultural circumstances are reflected in the Arsinoite prices of barley, lentils, and oil.

12 For a table of barley prices and discussion see 3628-36 introd.

13 Lentils were evidently more important in Egyptian agriculture than we might imagine nowadays, cf. M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 191. In Aulus Gellius, *NA* 17. 8. 2, drawn to my attention by Dr Holford-Strevens, Egyptian lentils are the main ingredient of a meal. It is not quite clear whether we can deduce from this that they were exported from Egypt to Greece in the second century AD. Perhaps a variety grown in Greece might have been called Egyptian. For a table of all the lentil prices in these documents see XLVII 3345 46-7n., in the observation that lentils were generally equated or nearly equated with wheat, see XLVII 3345 46-7n., is confirmed in broad terms. In individual cases it would hardly be possible to guess whether lentils were likely to be dearer or cheaper than wheat. Note especially how the age of the lentils affects the price in 3345.

14 The price of chaff remains steady throughout these documents at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ den. myr. per lb. In XLVIII 3424 12 the charge of 2 den. myr. per lb. seems, therefore, to be the price, rather than a surcharge, especially since the date of that document may be 357 or 372. It is probably the *adaeratio* of a tax or levy payable in kind and thus a penalty price; see also 16n.

See S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 25 for the uses of chaff and for requisitions of chaff by the Ptolemaic and Roman governments. Add P. Beatty Panop. 2. 250-55, an interesting letter about arrangements to ship chaff upstream to the Thebaid, where there was a shortage of it. The descriptions of winnowing in J. E. Harrison, *JHS* 24 (1904) 241-54 and K. D. White, *Agricultural Implements* 32-5, do not stress the necessity of keeping the chaff, but Xenophon, *Oecon.* 18. 7, refers to an ἀχυροδόκη: ἀν δὲ τις . . . λιγμῆ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπὲρμου ἀρχόμενος . . . εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἀχυροδόκῃ ἔσται τὰ ἀχυρα, 'if one winnows . . . from the upwind (side of the threshing-floor) . . . the chaff will at once be found in the receptacle for chaff'. Many references to ἀχυρον and its cognates, e.g. ἀχυροθήκη,

ἀχυροπράκτωρ, in the papyri show that its importance in ancient times was much greater than would readily come to mind nowadays.

15 διὰ ξ(εστ.) η. Cf. XVI 1896 19 σηκώματα δεκάξεστα, and note, referring to P. Lond. inv. 2115 οἶνον σηκωμ[άτων] δεκαξεστίων (= -αίων), also P. Mich. XV 734. 16 δεκαξεστιαία[ν σηκωμάτων]. The first and third of these texts are from the Oxyrhynchite nome. In this series of documents the prices are for 8 sextarii in three nomes, Cynopolite (3628), Oxyrhynchite (3629), and Arsinoite (3632), for 7 sextarii in two nomes, one unidentified (3630), the other the Aphroditopolite (3633), and for a measure apparently called the δι(πλοῦν) μέγα in the other unidentified nome (3631 6, 17). It appears that the κνίδιον could be either μέγα or μικρόν (XVI 1893 14 n.) and that the κνίδιον was sometimes the same as the διπλοῦν (XVI 1951 3, 5). In XVI 1920 5 there is a διπλοῦν of 8 sextarii, in XIV 1720 5 διπλά and σηκώματα are equated, and in XVI 1896 22 ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου κνιδίου seems to refer back to the δεκάξεστα σηκώματα of 19, cf. 20. It is a possibility that in this case the δι(πλοῦν) μέγα was one of 8 sextarii, answering to a διπλοῦν μικρόν of 7 sextarii. For a measure of 7 sextarii see P. Cair. Masp. I 67104. 12 (sc. ἐκάστου ἀγγείου) ἐκ ξεστῶ(ν) ἑπτά. Cf. πενταξεστιαίων (PSI VIII 881. 5), ἐξαξεστιαίων (= διπλοῦν, P. Mich. XIII 674. 5, cf. 10; P. Flor. I 65. 6-7), with P. Mich. XIII 667. 17 ἀγγια (= -εια) πενήκοντα ἀπὸ ἐξαξεστῶν ἐκάστου ἀγγείου (= -είου) and P. Vatic. Aphrod. 12. 5, 12 (οἴ(νου) ἀγγ(εῖα) . . . ἐξαξεστ(αῖα)?)]. For more details, which demonstrate how great the variations in measure and price were, and so how uncertain modern calculations are likely to be, see L. Casson, *TAPA* 70 (1939) 1-16.

From the table of wine prices in 3628-36 introd. we can see that new wine is meant, because the prices tend to be cheaper in the autumn after the vintage and dearer in summer.

16 See 3628-36 introd. for a table of the meat prices in this series, which show only two levels, 24 and 30 den. myr. per lb., and also for a discussion of what appears to be a high price of 30 den. myr. per lb. for meat in 390 (XIV 1753 4). In XLVIII 3424, perhaps of 357 or 372, the charge of 26 den. myr. per lb. looks like a price rather than a surcharge, and is probably the *adneratio* of a tax payable in kind; see also 14 n. All these prices are high by the standards suggested by A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* i 446. He points out, however, that Egypt is not rich in pasture and that Egyptian meat prices can be expected to be high.

17 Salt remains fixed throughout at 150 den. myr. per art. J. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 235, regards salt as the only commodity subject to a fiscal monopoly. However, A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* ii 826, tells us that monopolies are not heard of till the latter part of the fifth century, and seems to regard the *manicipes salinarum* exclusively as a guild of the city of Rome, i 357, 705. The steady price here is not necessarily the result of a monopoly, as is proved by the case of chaff; cf. 14 n. For instances of the supply of salt to the army see P. Beatty Panop. 2. 248, 288 (AD 300), P. Laur. III 111 (late vi AD). The first two are for *salgamum*, on which see XXXI 2561 17 n., A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* i 631-2.

18 On radish oil see P. Mich. XI 613. 4 n. For a discussion of the price see 3628-36 introd.

43 After ρη[], where the pi is damaged but not really uncertain, there may have been another digit lower than ten.

45 ρν[]. This price for salt is steady throughout, so that there is no likelihood that a digit has been lost after the break.

3629. COMMODITY PRICES

65 6B.39/E(7) a front

25.5 × 17 cm

Fifth century

On the back is 3635.

i

Ὁξυρυγχίτου ἐπὶ μηνὸς

Θῶβ, Φαῶφι, Ἀθύρ, Χοιάκ

ο(ὔτως)

	χρυσοῦ τοῦ νο(μ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ,γω
	ἀργύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) ε
5	ἀργύρου ἀργ(οῦ) τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) δ (ἥμ.) (τέταρτ.)
	κίτου τοῦ νο(μ.) α	(ἀρτ.) ιβ
	κριθῶν τοῦ νο(μ.) α	(ἀρτ.) ιγ
	φακοῦ τοῦ νο(μ.) α	(ἀρτ.) η
10	κρέως τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) κδ
	ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) α (ἥμ.)
	οἶ[ν]ορ διὰ ξ(εστ.) η	(δην. μυρ.) ρ, [
	[ἀλὸς τῆς (ἀρτ.)	(δην. μυρ.)]ρρ[

ii

	κρέως τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) κδ
15	ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) α (ἥμ.)
	οἴνου διὰ ξ(εστ.) η	(δην. μυρ.) ρπ
	ἀλὸς τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρν
	ἐλαίου ῥεφ(ανίνου) τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) π
	(vac.)	
	ἐπὶ μηνὸς Παχῶν, Παῦνι, Ἐπειφ, Μεσορή	
20	ο(ὔτως)	
	χρυσοῦ τοῦ νο(μ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ,γων
	ἀργύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) ε
	ἀργύρου ἀργ(οῦ) τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) δ (ἥμ.) (τέταρτ.)
	κίτου τοῦ ν]ο[(μ.) α	

'Oxyrhynchite	For the months		Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr, Choac, viz.:	Tybi, Mecheir, Phamenoth, Pharmuthi, viz.:	Pachon, Payni, Epeiph, Mesore, viz.:
Gold per	sol.	den. myr.	3,800	[]	3,850
Silver per	lb.	sol.	5	[]	5
Unworked silver per	lb.	sol.	4½	[]	4½
Wheat per	sol.	art.	12	[]	[]
Barley per	sol.	art.	13	[]	[]
Lentils per	sol.	art.	8	[]	[]
Meat per	lb.	den. myr.	24	24	[]
Chaff per	lb.	den. myr.	1½	1½	[]
Wine per	8 sextarii	den. myr.	100+	180	[]
Salt per	art.	den. myr.	150?	150	[]
Radish oil per sextarius		den. myr.	[]	80	[]?

1-4. The beginnings of ll. 1, 2 and 4—οξ, part of θ, part of χ—stand on the right-hand edge of the fragment chiefly occupied by 3628, so that the join here is certain.

13. It seems quite safe to restore this line as for salt in spite of the scantiness of the remains, cf. 16-17 and the table showing a steady price for salt in 3628-36 introd.

3630. COMMODITY PRICES

65 6B.39/E(1) a front

22 × 31 cm

Fifth century

On the back is 3633.

i

	]. λ() ἐπὶ μηνός	
	Θώθ.] Φαώφι, Ἀθύρ, Χοιάκ	
	] ο(ὔτως)	
	χρυσοῦ] τοῦ νο(μ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ,γλ
5	ἀργύρου] τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) ε
	ἀργύρου ἀ]ργ(οῦ) τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) δ(ῆμ.) (τέταρτ.)
	σίτου τῆ]ς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) υν
	κριθῶ]ν τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ςο
	φακοῦ τ]ῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) υλ
10	ἀχύρου] τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) α(ῆμ.)
	οἴνου] διὰ ξ(εστ.) ζ	(δην. μυρ.) ρν
	κρέως τ]ῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) λ
	ἀλός τῆ]ς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρν
	ἐλαίου ρέ]φ(ανίνου) τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρε
	(vac.)	

15	ἐπὶ μηνός Τ]ῦβι, Μεχείρ, Φαμην' ὠ'θ,	
	Φα]ρμουῦθι	
	ο](ὔτως)	
	χρυσοῦ] τοῦ νο(μ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ,γλ
	ἀργύρου τ]ῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) ε
20	ἀργύρου ἀ]ργ(οῦ) τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) δ(ῆμ.) (τέταρτ.)
	σίτου τῆ]ς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) φ
	κριθῶ]ν τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) υ

ii

	φ[α]κ[οῦ] τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) υ[(vac.)?] (vac.)
	ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) α(ῆμ.)
25	οἴνου διὰ ξ(εστ.) ζ	(δην. μυρ.) ρξε
	κρέως τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) λ
	ἀλός τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρν
	ἐλαίου ρέ]φ(ανίνου) τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρε
	(vac.)	

	ἐπὶ μηνός Παχών, Παῦνι, Ἐπειφ, Μεσορή	
	ο(ὔτως)	
30	χρυσοῦ τοῦ νο(μ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ,γλ
	ἀργύρου τῆ]ς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) ε
	ἀργύρου ἀ]ργ(οῦ) τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) δ(ῆμ.) (τέταρτ.)
	σίτου τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) φ
35	κριθῶ]ν τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ςο
	φακοῦ τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) υ
	ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) α(ῆμ.)
	οἴνου διὰ ξ(εστ.) ζ	(δην. μυρ.) ς
	κρέως τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) λ
40	ἀλός τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρν
	ἐλαίου ρέ]φ(ανίνου) τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρε

...	For the months		Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr, Choac, viz.:	Tybi, Mecheir, Phamenoth, Pharmuthi, viz.:	Pachon, Payni, Epeiph, Mesore, viz.:
Gold per	sol.	den. myr.	3,900	3,900	3,900
Silver per	lb.	sol.	5	5	5
Unworked silver per	lb.	sol.	4½	4½	4½
Wheat per	art.	den. myr.	450	500	500
Barley per	art.	den. myr.	280	400	280
Lentils per	art.	den. myr.	430	400	400
Chaff per	lb.	den. myr.	1½	1½	1½
Wine per	7 sextarii	den. myr.	150	165	200
Meat per	lb.	den. myr.	30	30	30
Salt per	art.	den. myr.	150	150	150
Radish oil per sextarius	den. myr.		105	105	105'

1] , λ (). The mark of abbreviation is an oblique stroke rising to the right after lambda. There is a ligature joining the lambda from the left, but this does not exclude omicron as the preceding letter, since in this roll it is often made as a continuous clockwise loop with a ligature into the next letter. The possibilities, therefore, are *Ἡρακλεσ]ρολ(ίτου)*, hardly *Ἡρα]κλ(εσπολίτου)*, *Ν(ε)ιλοσ]ρολ(ίτου)*, hardly *Ν(ε)]μλ(σπολίτου)*, *Λητροσ]ρολ(ίτου)*, and *Θεοδοσιωσ]ρολ(ίτου)*. In the visible cases the name of the nome is set out about the space of two or three letters before the normal left-hand edge (*χρυσοῦ κτλ.*), so that we expect to restore eight or nine letters here. This may permit us to regard the shorter names, *Ν(ε)ιλοσ]ρολ(ίτου)* and *Λητροσ]ρολ(ίτου)*, as less likely. The order of the nomes does not allow any firm conclusions, see 3628-36 introd., 3636 2 n. The prices show no overall or consistent similarities that would link them closely with any of the surviving nomes.

22-3 This price for barley is by far the highest in the series. The traces and the spaces in both lines have been carefully checked and seem to justify the text as given. Perhaps the clerk inadvertently copied the figure for lentils instead of barley in 22.

3631. COMMODITY PRICES

64 6B.41/D(2)a back (col. i)

13 x 27 cm

Fifth century

The first column of this item is lost, including the name of the nome to which it refers. On the same fragment stand the beginnings of 3632 col. i, which join directly to the rest of that item on another fragment. Both the fragments are blank on the front, see 3628-36 introd.

	φακοῦ τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ν
	ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) α (ἧμ.)
	κρέως τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) λ
	ἀλόδ τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρν
5	ἐλαίου ῥεφ(ανίνου) [τ]οῦ ξ(έστ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρε
	οἴνου δι(πλοῦ)? μεγάλ(ου)	(δην. μυρ.) c
	(vac.)	

ἐπὶ μ]ηρός Παχών, Παῦνι,
Ἐπειφ, Μεσορή
ο(ῦτως)

10	χρυσοῦ τους νο(μ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) , γλ
	ἀ]ργύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) ε
	ἀ]ργύρου ἀργ(οῦ) . . .	γο(μ.) δ (ἧμ.) (τέταρτ.)
	c]ίτου τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) νν
	φακοῦ τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) υ
15	ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) α (ἧμ.)
	ἀλόδ τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρν
	οἴνου δι. [
	κρέως τ[ῆς λί(τρ.)] α [
	ἐλαίου ῥεφ(ανίνου) τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α	

6 δι[(ν.)?]μεγαλ' 7 παῦνι

...	For the months		Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr, Choac, viz.:	Tybi, Mecheir, Phamenoth, Pharmuthi, viz.:	Pachon, Payni, Epeiph, Mesore, viz.:
Gold per	sol.	den. myr.	[]	[]	3,900
Silver per	lb.	sol.	[]	[]	5
Unworked silver per	lb.	sol.	[]	[]	4½
Wheat per	art.	den. myr.	[]	[]	450
Barley per	art.	den. myr.	[]	[]	[]
Lentils per	art.	den. myr.	[]	400	400
Chaff per	lb.	den. myr.	[]	1½	1½
Wine per	?	den. myr.	[]	200	[]
Meat per	lb.	den. myr.	[]	30	[]
Salt per	art.	den. myr.	[]	150	150'
Radish oil per sextarius	den. myr.		[]	105	[]'

6 After δι there is a narrow gap in the papyrus before μεγαλ'. There may have been a mark of abbreviation there, cf. 17 n.

12 The normal entries have ἀργ(οῦ) τῆς λί(τρας) α. Probably τῆς was omitted here. The remains are very scanty, but <τῆς> λί(τρας) α seems acceptable, cf. 3628 38, 3632 27.

14-15 An entry for barley is expected between these two lines. Either it was omitted entirely or added after 19, cf. 3632 14 n.

17 The remains after δι are confused. They may be from an abbreviation mark of some kind, or from μν, cf. 6 and n., or from both together. They do not seem to favour διὰ [ξ(εστῶν) or διὰ ξ(εστῶν)], which are versions of the form found in the other items.

3632. COMMODITY PRICES

64 6B.41/D(2)a back (col. ii)

13 × 27 cm

Fifth century

64 6B.41/D(1)a back

21 × 28 cm

For the low prices of agricultural products in the Arsinoite nome see 3628 11 n.

i

Ἀρσι(νοῖτου) ἐπὶ μῆνός

Θῶθ, [Φα]ῶφι, Ἀθύρ, Χο[ι]άκ

[ο] (ὔτως)

	χρυσῶν [τοῦ] ν[ο] (μ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ,δ
5	ἀργύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) ε
	ἀργ[ύ]ρον ἀρ[γ] (οὔ) τ]ῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) δ (ἥμ.) (τέταρτ.)
	σίτου τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) σμ
	κριθῶν τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) σκε
	οἴνου διὰ ξ(εστ.) η	(δην. μυρ.) ρξ
10	ἐλαίου ῥεφ(ανίνου) τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) οε
	κρέω[ε τῆς λί(τρ.)] α	(δην. μυρ.) κδ
	ἀλός [τῆς] (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρν
	ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) α (ἥμ.)
	φ]ακ[οῦ] τ]ῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) τξ

(vac.)

15 ἐπὶ μῆνός Τύβι, Μεχείρ, Φ[α]μενώθ,

ii

	κριθῶν τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) σκε
	φακοῦ τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) τξ
	οἴνου διὰ ξ(εστ.) η	(δην. μυρ.) ρρ
	ἐλαίου ῥεφ(ανίνου) τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρε
20	κρέως τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) κδ
	ἀλός τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρν
	ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) α (ἥμ.)

(vac.)

ἐπὶ μῆνός Παχῶν, Παῦνι, Ἐπειφ, Μεσορή

ο (ὔτως)

25	χρυσῶν τῶν νο(μ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ,δ
	ἀργύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) ε
	ἀργύρ[ου ἀρ]γ(οὔ) <τῆς> λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) δ (ἥμ.) [(τέταρτ.)]
	σίτου τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) σμ
	κριθῶν τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) σκε
30	οἴνου διὰ ξ(εστ.) η	(δην. μυρ.) σκ
	ἐλαίου ῥεφ(ανίνου) [τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ο]ξ
	κριθῶν [
	ἀλός τῆς [
	ἀχύ]ρον [

'Arsinoite		For the months	Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr, Choeac, viz.:	Tybi, Mecheir, Phamenoth, Pharmuthi, viz.:	Pachon, Payni, Epeiph, Mesore, viz.:
Gold per	sol.	den. myr.	4,000	[]	4,000
Silver per	lb.	sol.	5	[]	5
Unworked silver per	lb.	sol.	4½	[]	4½
Wheat per	art.	den. myr.	240	[]	240
Barley per	art.	den. myr.	225	225	225
Wine per	8 sextarii	den. myr.	160	190	220
Radish oil per	sextarius	den. myr.	75	75	75 ^p
Meat per	lb.	den. myr.	24	24	[]
Salt per	art.	den. myr.	150	150	[]
Chaff per	lb.	den. myr.	1½	1½	[]
Lentils per	art.	den. myr.	360	360	[]

14 Lentils usually stand earlier in the lists, after wheat and barley, as in 17 here, but they are displaced again, or omitted, in the list for the third *quadrimestrum*, 23–34. A similar displacement of barley may have occurred in 3631, see 3631 14–15 n.

32 There is a satisfactory entry for barley in 29. The order of the entries suggests that the clerk miscopied κρέως as κριθῶν, cf. 10–12, 19–21.

3633. COMMODITY PRICES

65 6B.39/E(1)a back

22 x 31 cm

Fifth century

On the front is 3630.

i

Ἀφρο[δ(ιτοπολίτου) ἐ]πὶ μηνὸ[ς] Θώθ, Φαώφι,

Ἀθύρ, Χοιάκ, ο(ὔτωσ)

(vac.)

	χρυσοῦ τοῦ νο(μ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ,γλ
	ἀργύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) ε
5	ἀργύρου ἀργ(οῦ) τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) δ (ἧμ.) (τέταρτ.)
	σίτου τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) υν
	κριθῶν τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) σκε
	φακοῦ τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) τξ
	ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) α (ἧμ.)
10	ἐλαίου ῥεφ(ανίνου) τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρε
	κρέως τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) λ
	ἀλός τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ρν
	οἴνου διὰ ξ(έστ.) ζ	(δην. μυρ.) ς

ἐπὶ μηνὸς Τῦβι, Μεχε[ίρ, Φ]αμενώθ,

Φαρμούθι

ο(ὔτωσ)

15	χρυσοῦ τοῦ νο(μ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) ,γλ
	ἀργύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	ρ[ο(μ.)] ε
	ἀργύρου ἀργ(οῦ) τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) δ (ἧμ.) (τέταρτ.)
20	σίτου τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) υν

ii

κριθῶν τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	[
φακοῦ τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	[
ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	[
κρέως τῆς λί(τρ.) α	[

3633. COMMODITY PRICES

25	ἀλός τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	[
	οἴνου διὰ ξ(έστ.) ζ	[
	ἐλαίου ῥεφ(ανίνου) τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α	(δην. [μυρ.]
	(vac.)	
	ἐπὶ μηνὸς Παχών, Παῦνι, Ἐπ[είφ,	
	Μεσορή	
30	ο(ὔτωσ)	
	χρυσοῦ τοῦ νο(μ.) α	(δην. [μυρ.]
	ἀργύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) [
	ἀργύρου ἀργ(οῦ) τῆς λί(τρ.) α	νο(μ.) [
	σίτου τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) [
35	κριθῶν τῆς (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) . [
	φακοῦ [τῆς] (ἀρτ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) . [
	ἀχύρου τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) . [
	ἀλός τῆς [(ἀρτ.) α]	(δην. μυρ.) ρ[
	ἐλαίου ῥεφ(ανίνου) [τοῦ ξ(έστ.) α]	(δην. μυρ.) ρε[
40	κρέως τῆς λί(τρ.) α	(δην. μυρ.) λ[
	οἴ[ν]ου διὰ ξ(έστ.) ζ	(δην. μυρ.) ς[

'Aphroditopolite	For the months	Thoth, Phaophi, Hathyr, Choec, viz.:	Tybi, Mecheir, Phamenothe, Pharmuthi, viz.:	Pachon, Payni, Epeiph, Mesore, viz.:	
Gold per	sol.	den. myr.	3,900	3,900	[]
Silver per	lb.	sol.	5	5	[]
Unworked silver per	lb.	sol.	4½	4½	[]
Wheat per	art.	den. myr.	450	450	[]
Barley per	art.	den. myr.	225	[]	[]
Lentils per	art.	den. myr.	360	[]	[]
Chaff per	lb.	den. myr.	1½	[]	[]
Radish oil per sextarius		den. myr.	105	[]	105
Meat per	lb.	den. myr.	30	[]	30
Salt per	art.	den. myr.	150	[]	150?
Wine per	7 sextarii	den. myr.	200	[]	200?

3634. TAX ACCOUNTS

65 6B.39/E(7)b back

11.5 × 31.5 cm

Fifth century

The front is blank.

καὶ ἀπὸ λόγου ναύλων ἀρουρατεῖ[ωνος
ἀφ' ὧν ἐλογίσθη(η) τῇ ἐπαρχ(ία) ἐν Ἀ[λεξανδρεία
τοῖς ὄρριοις τῆς αὐτῆς λ[
καὶ τελείται ἐν Ἀλε[ξανδρεία

5 καὶ ἀπετάλ(η) [
 [ο(ῦ)τως)?
 Χ[οιάκ] . δι(ὰ) Φοιβάμ[μυνοσ
 Φαμενώθι δι(ὰ) Ἄνουβ[λωνος
 Παχών γ δι(ὰ) Ἰωνά [
 10 Ἐπειφ ᾱ δι(ὰ) Κασίου π[αραπομποῦ
 Μεσορή ια δι(ὰ) Ἰωνά [
 Φαώφι ιζ δι(ὰ) Ἰωνά [

(vac.)

καὶ κατεβλήθη(η) ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεία . [

(vac.)

(vac.) γί(νονται)? ,α[

(vac.)

15 καὶ ἀπὸ λόγου γαλαθηνῶ[ν
 ἀφ' ὧν ἐλογίσθη(η) ἐν Ἀλεξα[νδρεία
 τοῖς ὄρριοις τῆς αὐτῆς [
 καὶ ἀπετάλ(η) ἐν Ἀλεξ[
 [ανδρεία?
 (vac.) . [

1 I. ἀρουρατίωνος 2 ἐλογισ^θ, επαρχ 5 απεταλ/ 7-12 δι/ 13 κατεβλη^θ
14 γ¹? 16 ἐλογισ^θ 18 απεταλ/

*And from the account of freight charges on *arurata* . . .

*From which have been credited to the province in Alexandria . . . the granaries of the same . . . and there are being paid(?) in Alexandria . . . and there have been sent . . .

Viz.:

Choeac nth through Phoebammon . . .
Phamenoth 10 through Anubion . . .
Pachon 3 through Jonas . . .
Epeiph 1 through Casius, escort (?), . . .
Mesore 11 through Jonas . . .
Phaophi 16 through Jonas . . .

*And there have been paid in Alexandria . . .

Total(?) 1,000(+?).

*And from the account of sucklings . . .

*From which have been credited in Alexandria . . . the granaries of the same . . . and there have been sent to(?) Alexandria . . .

1-5 The structure of 1-5, which is very similar to that in 15-18, is not certain, but it can be compared with 3635 1-3 and 3636 1-4, where the assessed total is given and then followed directly by ἀφ' ὧν ἀπετάλ(η) εἰς . . . Ἀλεξανδρείαν. Here the assessed total seems to have been divided into a sum 'credited' or 'charged' (cf. 2 n.) to the province of Arcadia in Alexandria and a sum 'payable' (cf. 4 n.) in Alexandria, although what precisely these terms mean is not clear to me. Only after this division of the assessed total do we find ἀπετάλη κτλ., followed by a list of various persons who escorted payments from Arcadia to the capital, as in 3636.

1 The word ἀρουρατίων has appeared only three times before, see XLVIII 3397 22 n. In P. Cair. Masp. III 67329 ii 8 it refers to taxes assessed in proportion to the total area of the lands of a village (καθ' ὁμοίότητα πάσης τῆς ἀρουρατίωνος τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης). The date is c. 529-30. In P. Lips. I 62 ii 2 (AD 385) and XLVIII 3397 22 (late iv AD) a tax called χρωσὶς or χρωσίον (τῆς) ἀρουρατίωνος is mentioned. A tax for the freight charges of seagoing ships is known to have been assessed by arurage, see XVII 2113 (cf. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* 160-1), XLVIII 3424 3-4, so that it looks as if the same tax is involved here. For other levies assessed by a similar method see R. S. Bagnall, 'Bullion Purchases and Landholding', *CE* 52 (1977) 322-36.

2 ἐλογίσθη(η). It is not clear whether this should be translated as 'credited' or 'charged', cf. *CE* 49 (1974)

166 n. 1.

ἐν Ἀ[λεξανδρεία. Cf. 16.

3 Cf. 18, τοῖς ὄρριοις τῆς αὐτῆς [c. For the Latin word in the papyri see S. Daris, *Lessico latino* 80. These *horrea* are presumably the state granaries in or around Alexandria, cf. A. Calderini, *Diz. geogr.* i 1. 135, P. Turner 45. 4-5 n. This last document, dated AD 374, has τοῖς καθ' Ἀλεξανδρείαν θεσίαις θησαυροῖς, while later parallels have τοῖς ὄρριοις (XXIV 2408 9; AD 397) and τοῖς ὄρ(ρί)οις καθὰ τὴν Ἀλεξ(ανδρείαν) (P. Ryl. IV 652. 10; late iv or early v). This word might lead us to expect accounts of taxes in grain, but ναύλων ἀρουρατεῖ[ωνος seems likely to be a tax in gold, cf. 1 n., 7 n., and γαλαθηνῶ[ν to be a tax payable in kind, i.e. in animals, see 15 n., or in money or bullion. In the first case we might guess that the freight charges were applied to grain taxes and were therefore payable at the granaries, but it is harder to see how sucking pigs are connected with granaries.

λ[. I take τῆς αὐτῆς to refer back to Ἀ[λεξανδρεία in 2, and λ[as separate. It is not alpha for Ἀ[λεξανδρεία or mu for μ[εγαλοπόλεως.

4 τελείται. Cf. 3636 3, 5, 11. The present tense creates a difficulty. Perhaps the meaning is 'are payable' rather than 'are being paid', see 3636 3 n. In 3636 3, 11, the subject is νο(μίματα) ἰδ.

7 Φοιβάμ[μυνοσ. Cf. 3636 11. Jonas, see 9, 11, and 12, also appears in 3636 10, 12 (twice), and his name is distinctive. It is likely, therefore, that ναῦλα ἀρουρατίωνος were payable in gold solidi like the tax for πλατυτήγια, as the references to χρωσὶς or χρωσίον (τῆς) ἀρουρατίωνος also suggest, see 1 n., cf. 3 n., and that the same persons escorted shipments of gold deriving from various taxes on their journeys from Arcadia to Alexandria.

10 π[αραπομποῦ. Cf. 3635 3 n. This word was probably abbreviated to παρ' or παραπ', see 3636 7-12.

13 This line may answer to ἐλογίσθη(η) in 2 or to τελείται in 4. Presumably it does not just give the total of the payments in 7-12, since that is given very succinctly at the end of the list in 3636 5.

14 Palaeographically γί(νονται) ,α[, 'total 1,000(+?)', seems attractive, but it is far from certain, especially because we miss the units of payment, which in this case ought to be gold solidi, γ = νο(μίματα), cf. 7 n.

15-18 This passage is similar to 1-5, see n., but it looks as if it did not have the section represented by 4.

15 Cf. Diocletian, *Edict. de pret.*, 4. 46 (ed. S. Lauffer or M. Giacchero), where γαλαθηνῶ ἀπὸ γάλακτος translates *porcelli la(n)ctanūs*. A Megarian copy of the Greek has χοίρων γαλακτοπόδου in his place. Sucking pigs seem likely to be meant here, cf. A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* 206-7, but the only occurrence of γαλαθηνῶς in the papyri is as an adjective agreeing with ἐρίφους, 'kids' (P. Cair. Zen. III 59429. 17; iii BC).

There is no other record of such a tax or levy. We may guess that the pigs were needed to supply meat to Alexandria on a system like that by which Rome was supplied with live pigs from Campania, Samnium, and Lucania, see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* i 702-3.

16 Cf. 2 n.

17 Cf. 3 n.

18 *ἢ Ἀλεξ[ανδρείαι]*? We expect rather *εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν*, cf. 3635 2, 3636 4, but it cannot be read. Probably this is a clerical error induced by memories of ll. 2, 4, 13, and 16.

3635. TAX ACCOUNTS

65 6B.39/E(7)a back

25.5 × 17 cm

Fifth century

On the front is 3629.

καὶ ἀπὸ λόγου ἐρέας—ὁ κ(ανὼν) (vac.) λί(τρ.) ,ηφγδ
 ἀφ' ὧν ἀπεστάλ(η) εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διὰ
 διαφόρων παραπ(ομπῶν) (vac.) λί(τρ.) ,δψξζ χρ(υσοῦ) λί(τρ.) β
 (οὐγκ.) δ γρ(αμμ.) κ
 λουπαὶ (vac.) λί(τρ.) ,γψπζ
 (vac.) ο(ὔτως) (vac.)
 5 Ἀφροδ(ιτοπολίτου) λί(τρ.) ψμβ Μεμφίτου λί(τρ.) χρε
 Αητοπολ(ίτου) λί(τρ.) φξε Αρσινοίτου λί(τρ.) ρφκ
 Κνωπολ(ίτου) λί(τρ.) εκ Ηρακλεοπολ(ίτου) λί(τρ.) με
 (vac.)
 καὶ ἀ[πὸ λό]γγον κηροῦ - ὁ κ(ανὼν) λί(τρ.) [.] . μθ

1 κ, λ, and so throughout 2 απεσταλ/ 3 παραπ/, χρσ β, εδγγκ 5 ο— 6 αφροδ/
 7 λητοπολ/; 1. Αρσινοῖτου 8 κνωπολ/, ηρακλεοπολ/ 9 κ/

'And from the account for wool: The assessment: lb. 8,554.

'From which there have been sent to the great city of Alexandria through different escorts, lb. 4,767: gold lb. 2, oz. 4, scr. 20.

'Remaining, lb. 3,787,

Viz.:

Aphroditopolite lb. 742, Memphite lb. 695, Letopolite lb. 565, Arsinoite lb. 1,520, Cynopolite lb. 220, Heracleopolite lb. 45.'

'From the account for wax: The assessment: lb. [?]49. . .'

1 For levies of wool in Egypt see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* i 837, ii 1351 n. 32. Cf. XLVIII 3420 37-9, 3428 19, P. Turner 47. 5, 9, 10.

For the abbreviation representing *λίτρα* cf. P. Lond. IV p. 601. In 3628-33 the abbreviation is different, λ.

2 *μεγαλόπολιν*. Cf. VIII 1130 6 n.

3 *παραπ(ομπῶν)*. These are obviously official escorts of tax payments, Latin *prosecutores*, cf. e.g. C. Theod. viii 5. 18, viii 5. 40, viii 5. 47-8, x 24. 3, xii 6. 13, xii 8. 1, xiii 9. 4. Outside this group of documents, see 3634 10, 3636 4, 6-11, the word appears in only three papyri, I 127 4, 11, XVI 1844 1, 5, and SB VI 9139. 12, all of which are undated but plausibly assigned to the sixth century or later. Earlier the words *καταπομπός* and *προπομπός* were used in the same sense, cf. L 3576 6 n.

The significance of the sum of 2 lb. 4 oz. 20 scr. of gold is not clear. The figures of wool in pounds work out

correctly as read and the readings seem convincing, though there are various patches of damage. Since the amount in gold, equal to 692 scruples, and the sums in pounds do not possess common factors, it seems unlikely that the gold is simply the value of one of the amounts of wool.

6-8 It seems that the assessments for the Oxyrhynchite, Nilopolite, and Theodosiopolite nomes had been delivered in full and were included in the amount of 4,767 pounds given in l. 3. This amount may also have included contributions from the nomes listed here as owing the amounts against their names.

9 *κηροῦ*. Cf. XLVIII 3412 introd., P. Turner 47. 2, 6. Very little is known about such levies. The one in 3412 was apparently destined for Alexandria, but the wording there is extremely puzzling.

3636. TAX ACCOUNTS

65 6B.39/E(3)a back

22 × 32 cm

Fifth century

On the front is 3628.

καὶ ἀπὸ λόγγον [π]λατυπηγίων—ὁ κ(ανὼν) τῆς αὐτῆς θς" νο(μ.) ,αρ
 2 Ἰκν(οπολίτου) νο(μ.) ξβ (ἤμ.) (τρίτ.), Ὀξυρ(υγχίτου) νο(μ.) ρη,
 Ηρακλ(εοπολίτου) νο(μ.) ςνα (ἔκτ.), Νιλ(οπολίτου) νο(μ.) ρο
 (δίμοιρ.), Ἀφ(ροδιτοπολίτου) νο(μ.) ρβ, Μεμφ(ίτου) νο(μ.)
 λζ (δίμοιρ.), Αητ[(οπολίτου)] νο(μ.) ζ (ἤμ.), Αρσι(νοῖτου)
 νο(μ.) ρξγ, Θεοδ(οσιοπολίτου) νο(μ.) ιγ (ἔκτ.).'
 3 'τελ(εῖται) νο(μ.) ιδ.'
 ἀφ' ὧν [ἀ]πεστάλ(η) εἰς τὴν μεχ[α]λόπ[ο]λιν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διὰ διαφόρων
 5 παραπομπῶν[ν] εἰς τὴν τελουμένων ἐν αὐτῇ νο(μ.) ,αλα (δίμοιρ.)
 (vac.) οὔτως (vac.)
 Μεσορή - δι(ὰ) Πτολεμαίου παραπ(ομποῦ) νο(μ.) χιβ
 Θῶθ ε δι(ὰ) Ἰωάννου παρ(απομποῦ) νο(μ.) π
 Φᾶωφι ε δι(ὰ) Μακαρίου παρ(απομποῦ) νο(μ.) οζ (ἤμ.) (τρίτ.)
 10 Ἀθῦρ ιθ δι(ὰ) Ἰωνᾶ παραπ(ομποῦ) νο(μ.) ρν
 Χοῖακ κ- δι(ὰ) Φοιβάμμωνος παρ(απομποῦ) νο(μ.) κε (ἤμ.) (τρίτ.),
 καὶ τελεῖται νο(μ.) ιδ
 Μεσορή ιᾶ δι(ὰ) Ἰωνᾶ παραπ(ομποῦ) νο(μ.) λ , Φᾶωφι ιθ
 δι(ὰ) Ἰωνᾶ νο(μ.) μβ.
 λοιπ[ᾶ] πρὸς κανόνα (vac.) νο(μ.) νη (τρίτ.)
 (vac.) ο(ὔτως) (vac.)
 15 [Μ]εμφίτου νο(μ.) λζ (δίμοιρ.) Αητοπολ(ίτου) νο(μ.) ζ (ἤμ.)
 Θεοδοσιοφλ(ίτου) νο(μ.) ιγ (ἔκτ.) (vac.)
 (vac.)

1 κ/ 2 κνβββλγ"οξυρ/, ηρακλ/βενας"νιλβροββαφ/, μεμφ/βλζβδλητ[?]βλς_αρς', θεοδ/βιγς"
 3 τελ/ 4 [α]πεσταλ/ 5 β_αλαββ 6 δι/, and so throughout, παραπ/ 8 παρ/
 9 παρ/ βοζλ_γ'" 10 παραπ/ 11 παρ/, θκελ_γ'" 12 παραπ/ 13 βνηγ'" 14 ο—
 15 βλζββ, λητοπολ/ βλςλ 16 θεοδοσιοφλ/ βιγς"

καὶ ἀ[πὸ] [λ]όγου ὄνων καὶ βοῶν καὶ μισθ(οῦ?) ἀρτοκ(όπων?) τῆς
 μεγαλοπόλειως Ἀλεξανδρείας
 τῆς αὐτῆς] θς'' (vac.) ὁ κ(ανὼν) νο(μ.) ρι (ἡμ.) (δωδέκατ.) καὶ
 ἀργυρ(ίου?) (μονάδ.?) κ καὶ (δην.μυρ.?) , δφ
 (vac.) ο(ῦτωσ) (vac.)
 20] ὄνων καὶ βοῶν νο(μ.) μθ (τρίτ.), μισθ(οῦ?) ἀρτοκ(όπων?) (μονάδ.?)
 ια. ἀπαστάλ(η) πλήρ(εσ).
] ὄνων καὶ βοῶν νο(μ.) ξα (τέταρτ.), μισθ(οῦ?) ἀρτ[ο]κ(όπων?) . .
 , δφ. ἀπαστάλ(η) πλ(ῆρες).

17 μισθαρτοκ/ 18 κ/ θριLιβ, αργυρ/οκ, μ, δφ 19 — 20 θμθρ'μισθαρτοκ/οια
 απασταλ/πληρ/ 21 βξαδ/μισθαρτ[ο]κ/ι. . . δφ απασταλ/πλ/ι

¹And from the account for flat-bottomed boats: The assessment for the same 9th (indiction): sol. 1,090.

²Cynopolite sol. 62½, Oxyrhynchite sol. 298, Heracleopolite sol. 251½, Nilopolite sol. 170½, Aphroditopolite sol. 72 (?), Memphite sol. 37½, Letopolite sol. 7½, Arsinoite sol. 163, Theodosiopolite sol. 13½ (?). Sol. 14 are being paid (?).

³From which there have been sent to the great city of Alexandria through different escorts, with those that are paid in it (?), sol. 1,031½, viz.:

Mesore . . ., through Ptolemaeus, escort	sol. 612 (?)
Thoth 5, through John	sol. 80
Phaophi 5, through Macarius, escort	sol. 77½
Hathyr 19, through Jonas, escort	sol. 150
Choeac 2 (?), through Phocbammon, escort	sol. 25½, and there are being paid (?) sol. 14
Mesore 11, through Jonas, escort	sol. 30 (?), Phaophi 16, through Jonas sol. 42

⁴Remaining, by reference to the assessment, sol. 58½,

⁵Viz.:

Memphite sol. 37½, Letopolite sol. 7½, Theodosiopolite sol. 13½.

⁶And from the account for donkeys and oxen and bakers' wages (?) for the great city of Alexandria for the same 9th (indiction): The assessment: sol. 1107½ and in money (?) monads (?) 20 and den. myr. (?) 4,500, viz.:

Donkeys and oxen sol. 49½, bakers' wages (?) monads (?) 11; they were sent in full.
 Donkeys and oxen sol. 61½, bakers' wages (?) . . . 4,500; they were sent in full.⁷

¹ On payments for the maintenance of flat-bottomed boats see R. Rémondon, *Revue de philologie* 80 (ser. 3, vol. 28; 1954) 204–6. The text of the papyrus published by Rémondon has appeared again as SB VI 9614 and as P. Sakaon 77. It is assigned to c. AD 283. The word *πλατυπύγιον* has also appeared in XIV 1652 a 2, b 2, XXXI 2615 1 (both iii AD) and in P. Thead. 59 (= P. Sakaon 75), 3 (iv AD). The written form in the papyri is invariably *πλατυπηγ-*, as if deriving from *πήγγυμι*, but it must be compared with Strabo iv 4. 1 *πλατύπυγα δὲ ποιοῦσι καὶ ὑπέπυρνα καὶ ὑπέπυρρα διὰ τὰς ἀμπώτεσι, δροῦνης ὕλης, ἧς ἔστιν εὐπορία*, 'they'—the Veneti of Gaul—'make flat-bottomed boats with high stems and high prows because of the tides, out of oak timber, of which there is an abundance'. On the frequent interchange of hypsilon and eta in the papyri see F. T. Gignac, *Grammatik* i 262–7, esp. 266–7.

^{2–3} These lines were added on a smaller scale, but apparently by the same hand, after 4 had been written. They are set out into the left-hand margin and 3 is so short that it is entirely in the margin under the beginning of 2.

⁴ This list of nine territories is to be compared with Hierocles, *Synecdemus* 729. 1–730. 4, *Ἐπαρχία Ἀρκαδίας, ὑπὸ ἡγεμόνα, πόλει θ: Κινῶν, Ὀξέφυργος, Ἡρακλεῦς, Ἀρκενοίτης, Θεοδοσιούπολις, Νικόπολις,*

Ἀφροδιτώ, Πέμφις, Αἴτρου, which may be paraphrased, if we ignore the bad spelling and the inconsistencies, as follows: 'Province of Arcadia, under a *praeses*, 9 cities: Cynopolis, Oxyrhynchus, Heracleopolis, Arsinoe, Theodosiopolis, Aphroditopolis, Memphis, Letopolis'. Compare also the very similar list in George of Cyprus, *Descriptio Orbis Romani* 744–751a, which specifies Oxyrhynchus as the *μητροπόλις* or provincial capital. Both these authorities also mention a Theodosiopolis in the Lower Thebaid (Hier. 730. 7, Geo. Cypr. 763), see below.

Clearly, therefore, this whole roll relates to the province of Arcadia. The date of the creation of the province is discussed in 3628–36 introd.

The distinction between the Arsinoite and Theodosiopolite assessments gives the first unambiguous proof that Theodosiopolis was not simply another name for Arsinoe, as Grenfell and Hunt thought, see P. Tebt. II pp. 363–5. They allowed, however, that there was, or might be, some evidence for a separate territory, p. 364, a proviso which practically disappears in the summary in A. H. M. Jones *CERP*², 343. H. Gauthier, *Les Nomes d'Égypte* 202–5, though entitling his chapter 'Le nome Théodosiopolite', came to the conclusion that there were, at different times, two Theodosiopolite territories, one carved out of the old Arsinoite nome, the other out of the Hermopolite. The second area has been discussed recently by M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite* 48, 111–12. She maintains the distinction between the two Theodosiopolite territories (48) against P. J. Sijpesteijn, who allowed only one nome of that name and took it to be the one near Arsinoe, see P. Wisc. I (= Pap. Lugd. Bat. XVI) 10 introd., pp. 40–1. That document, of 10 October 468, is of great importance to the problem. One of the parties, though temporarily resident in Oxyrhynchus, came, according to the *ed. pr.*, *ἀπὸ κώμης Κέρκε τοῦ ἄνω Θεοδοσιουπόλιτου* (5–6). In Egyptian topography *ἄνω* means 'southern', and *κάτω* 'northern'. This was taken to indicate a division of the nome into two sections. The obvious alternative, that there were two nomes of the same name so distinguished, was rejected, but we may compare the same terms used of the two Cynopolite nomes, see H. Gauthier, *Les Nomes* 193–4, A. H. M. Jones, *CERP*² 493 n. 66, XLVII 3345 50 n., XLIX 3477 5 and n. If there were two nomes of this name in 468, the 'southern' Theodosiopolite must clearly have been the one cut out of the Hermopolite. The village name *Κέρκε* is unattested. The editor claimed that the reading 'cannot be doubted' (p. 40) and this claim is repeated in A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* i 2. 98. The papyrus is illustrated in pl. iv of P. Wisc. I, and on a larger scale, though still reduced, in E. Boswinkel–P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri, Ostraca and Mummy Labels*, no. 45. The body of the document, ll. 1–17, has epsilons of two kinds, one with a strong diagonal projection to the upper right, the other very rounded; both are large letters. The final letter of the village name is tiny, but clearly recognizable as an alpha. There are numerous similar ones in the text, but the beginning of *καταμένοντι* in l. 6 provides a good comparison. The village name *Κερκά* is also unattested, but it may well be a variant of the well-known Hermopolite village of *Κερκά*, see M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome Hermopolite* 140–1. The change of iota to epsilon is attested, see S.-T. Teodorsson, *The Phonology of the Ptolemaic Koine* 100–1, and this case may also have been affected by numerous village names beginning with the element *Κερκε-*, cf. J. Yoyotte, 'Le problème des Kerké', *Revue d'Égyptologie* 14 (1962) 86. The village of *Κερκά* is now known to have belonged to a Theodosiopolite nome in the Byzantine period from P. Vat. gr. 2653, as reported by R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 48 (1982) 101 n. 15, *ἀπὸ κώμης Κερκά τοῦ Θεοδοσιουπόλιτου νομοῦ*.¹

There is no doubt that two places called Theodosiopolis existed contemporaneously for a long period. They were obviously named after one or both of the two emperors called Theodosius (379–95; 402–50). There may have been a period at the beginning during which one existed without the other. The one near Hermopolis is still mentioned in the papyri as late as 614, if SB I 4669. 6 is correctly restored with *τοῦ [Θεοδο]σιουπόλιτου νομοῦ*, cf. P. Ross.–Georg. V 42 (AD 604). The one near Arsinoe is referred to as late as 600, see P. Lond. I 113. 5 c (p. 212).

There are various patches of damage which mean that we cannot be one hundred per cent sure that the figures are correctly read, but as offered they satisfy the arithmetic and the traces. The sum for the Theodosiopolite is confirmed by 15–16, from which it seems almost certain that all three nomes concerned were in arrears for the full amounts of their assessments. The second figure of the Nilopolite assessment was perhaps obscured by a riser from 4 (the eta of *τῆμ*) and then inked over, but 0 = 70 is by far the best of the possibilities, which are *a* to *θ*, plus *ε* = 6, *κ* to *π*, plus *ρ* = 90. The worst damage affects the assessment for the Aphroditopolite, but the arithmetic indicates that it should be either *οβ* = 72 or *πς* = 86, depending on whether or not the fourteen solidi of 3 were part of the total assessment or not. The most prominent trace is

¹ The same correction of the reading in P. Wisc. 10 and the same identification of the village have now been made independently by M. Drew-Bear, *CE* 54 (1979) 299–303, *REA* 83 (1981) 29 n. 27.

a diagonal which looks as if it was part of beta, beginning where the waist swells out into the lower curve of the right-hand side.

The figures are of some importance because this money tax was quite probably divided among the city territories in proportion to their economic strength. The Oxyrhynchite territory pays the most (298 sol.), which suits the fact that George of Cyprus calls Oxyrhynchus the metropolis of the province, see above. Then follow the Heracleopolite (251½), Nilopolite (170½—if rightly read), Arsinoite (169), Aphroditopolite (72—if rightly read), Cynopolite (62½), Memphite (37½), Theodosiopolite (13½), and Letopolite (7½). The vast differences are very striking and perhaps at first sight seem to contradict the idea that they are proportionate to the economy of the territories, but at least we can see that they fit with the evidence from later Byzantine times that the Oxyrhynchite and the Cynopolite territories were lumped together (XVI 1909; vii AD), as were the Arsinoite and the Theodosiopolite (cf. P. Tebt. 1, p. 363).

3 $\tau\epsilon\lambda(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota)\nu\omicron(\mu.)\delta\delta$. Cf. 5 and especially 11 for the expansion of $\tau\epsilon\lambda$. Compare also 3634 4 and n. From 5 and 3634 4 it becomes clear that we need to understand $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \text{A}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ with $\tau\epsilon\lambda(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota)$ here and in 11. The literal translation, therefore, is 'fourteen solidi are being paid (in Alexandria)', but this is very far from being clear in meaning. The sense may be that the sum is payable in Alexandria, that is, not to be collected in Arcadia and transported to Alexandria by *prosecutores*, see 3635 3 n., but to be paid in Alexandria itself. If the figures in 2 are correctly read, see n., these fourteen solidi do not form part of the sums assigned to the city territories but are assessed on the province as a whole without being divided. This seems rather implausible at first sight, but perhaps we may guess that there were persons legitimately resident in Alexandria who were registered as provincials of Arcadia and obliged to pay this tax on the spot in Alexandria.

5 $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\mu\phi\iota$]. Cf. 3635 3 n.

ζ[υ]ν τῶν τελομένων. The writer probably thought that he had written $\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$ rather than $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, though there is a possibility that the error is connected with the suppression of the dative, see J. Humbert, *La Disparition du datif*. There are some few examples of $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ with the genitive in the papyri and elsewhere, see *LSJ* s.v., and the genitive also occurs occasionally after $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$, see CPR V 15 3 n.

The $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\sigma\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\eta$ are the fourteen solidi mentioned already in 3, see n., and again, as an element of this section of the account, in 11.

17 $\delta\upsilon\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \beta\omicron\alpha\acute{\omega}\nu\ .\ .\ .\ \text{A}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$. From XVI 1905 17–19 we know that this tax was calculated on land area, cf. J. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 125 n. 10, A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* 209. The damaged state of 1905 hardly justifies the figures given by Johnson and West.

$\mu\sigma\theta(\omicron\upsilon?)\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\kappa(\acute{\sigma}\tau\omega\nu?)\ .\ .\ .\ \text{A}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\xi}\alpha\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$. This is an unknown tax, but it was presumably part of the arrangements for the food supply of Alexandria. We may compare the measures to control the bakers of Rome and Constantinople, see A. H. M. Jones, *LRÉ* ii 690–701.

18 $\acute{\alpha}\rho\gamma\upsilon\rho(\acute{\iota}\omega?)\ (\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta?)\ \kappa\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ (\delta\eta\nu,\ \mu\upsilon\rho?)\ \delta\phi$. The interpretation remains questionable for the moment. The sign \omicron usually means $\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, see XVI 1905 21 n. It is frequent in 3628–33 in the combination $\times\omicron$ ($\delta\eta\nu\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\epsilon\varsigma$). But 20 den. myr. is less than the price of a pound of meat in this period and looks absurdly small in the context of an assessment for the whole province, so that there is a great incentive to look for an alternative meaning for the sign. Perhaps it might represent $\mu\omicron(\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma)$, with mu over omicron in vestigial forms. It has recently been suggested that a $\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is not a pound of silver, as previously thought, but a myriad of myriads of denarii, i.e. 100,000,000, see XLVIII 3402 5 and n. The text there is damaged but the reading and interpretation seem convincing. Here 2,000,000,000 denarii would be the equivalent of fifty solidi, taking 4,000 myriads of denarii as a convenient exchange rate for a solidus, see 3628–36 introd. This sum would be quite appropriate in its place, though so indeed would 20 pounds of silver, the equivalent of one hundred solidi. The great objection to this hypothesis, which is put forward tentatively, is that it would be extremely confusing to have the same symbol representing values so immensely different.

Before $\delta\phi$ there is a clear mu surmounted by a shallow bowl that could easily be a hypsilon. In P. Mich. XV 740, to take just one example, this appears frequently as the abbreviation for $\mu\upsilon(\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma)$, i.e. a myriad of denarii, so there is no difficulty in taking it so here, even though in 3628–33 this sum is always represented by $\times\omicron$. This seems to reinforce the previous argument that \omicron must be something larger than 20 den. myr.

20–1 Though there are difficulties in the calculations, see below, it appears that the whole assessment was divided into two categories, one for each line here. The lost beginnings of the lines would have told us what these categories were. A blank margin of c. 3.5 cm at the foot suggests that the paragraph is complete, so that if μ in 20 is right, we expect $\omicron\theta$ $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu$, $\delta\phi$ in 21 to make up the sum specified in 18. The remains seem far too short for that. They might suit $\omicron\theta\ \delta\phi$, i.e. $\omicron\theta$ $\langle\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\rangle\ \delta\phi$.

3637. OFFICIAL LETTER

54 1B.26(E)/B(6)a

17 × 42 cm

19 (?) October 623

The mention of a shipment of gold coin to the 'king of kings' allows us to assign this letter, dated by indiction, month, and day, to the last Persian occupation of Egypt.

The recipient is one Marinus, whose titles suggest that he may have been a *scholasticus*, possibly a man known from other documents, see 20 n. He is informed that his secretary has paid to the sender the large sum of 3,962 gold solidi in respect of 'the first instalment for the twelfth indiction', and is requested to send the balance within three days, since a shipment of gold is to be dispatched to the Persian king. It is a pity that we do not learn the circumstances of the shipment. The 3,962 solidi, coined at seventy-two to the libra, must have weighed just over fifty-five Roman pounds, a figure which can be compared with two assessments for compulsory bullion purchases of the early fourth century of twenty-eight pounds and thirty-eight pounds for the whole of the Oxyrhynchite nome (XVII 2106, XLIII 3120). Evidently a tax or levy was involved here too, and we must reckon, even though the country was in the hands of the Persians, that 'the first instalment' refers to the customary payment of taxes in three instalments, see J. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 189–91, E. R. Hardy, *Large Estates* 55–6, so that the figure mentioned is likely to be less than one-third of the amount payable. However, though the sum is a large one, it should also be compared with those in XVI 1909, where we have a list of assessments which may represent the full obligations of at least three cities for a year in the seventh century. Oxyrhynchus and Cynopolis are assessed jointly at 59,500 *sol.*, Heracleopolis at 57,500 *sol.* Part of an entry for Nilopolis also survives. Possibly this list would have contained originally assessments for all nine cities of the province of Arcadia, cf. 3636 2 n.

The letter comes from an unnamed 'us' ($\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ 5, 11, 16, cf. $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ 18), but the plural may well be a Byzantine formality, since Marinus is called $\eta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\omicron\pi\rho\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \sigma\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\alpha$. In spite of the polite forms the tone is that of a superior to a subordinate.

Orders relating to the gold has been issued by a high Persian official, 'our master the all-praiseworthy Saralaneozan', who is mentioned also in BGU II 377. 1. That papyrus is supposed to come from the Arsinoite nome, indicating that the Persian's authority may have covered a wider area than that of the city territory of Oxyrhynchus. It may have extended to the province of Arcadia or even to the whole of the country.

A useful new bibliography relating to the Persian occupation has appeared in the second edition (1978) by P. M. Fraser of A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (1902), pp. xlvi–xlviii (Greek papyri), liii–liv (Pahlavi papyri—add now P. Rainer Cent. 13, pp. 215–28), lviii–lix (modern works).

The main text (1–19) is written across the fibres of the recto of a piece cut from a roll, including three sheet-joins 9.25, 20.5, and 32 cm from the top. While it was rolled up the piece suffered some damage which has produced an undulating left-hand edge, but

very little of the writing has been lost. The address and endorsement, of one line each (20-1), are written along the fibres of the verso.

In format this letter is very like XVI 1843 (18.3 × 43.3 cm), which is in the same hand and related in subject, though complications arise when we try to define the relation closely. That letter is from an unnamed 'us' to a person referred to as *ἡ ὑμετέρα μεγαλοπρεπῆς καὶ πάνσοφος φιλία*. It is dated to Hathyr 9 (= 5 or 6 November) of a twelfth indiction and acknowledges receipt of 2,016 solidi, half of which sum is to make up the first instalment of the twelfth indiction for Oxyrhynchus, while half is for the same instalment of the same indiction for Cynopolis. The money was delivered by a secretary with the same name and title as the man in our text.

I am inclined to believe that 1843 is also addressed to Marinus, cf. 20-1 n., and is the next stage or a succeeding stage in the same transaction. In that case Marinus has not obeyed the instruction to pay within three days. It has taken nearly three weeks, 19 (?) October to 6 November 623. That seems not too improbable. Also Marinus may have done more than he was asked, if our 3,962 solidi were all for Oxyrhynchus and he was asked to pay only the remaining 1,008, i.e. 4,970 in all. On the other hand, our 3,962 may be for both cities, and he may be asked in our letter to pay the remaining 2,016, i.e. 5,978 in all for both cities. Also there is the possibility of a payment, or more than one payment, in the interim, though *ὑπὲρ συμπληρώσεως* seems to imply that the sum was completely paid by the date of 1843, so that we need not reckon with subsequent payments. But, of course, the payment acknowledged in our letter need not have been the first. Exact calculations, therefore, are out of the question. What we gain chiefly is a vivid impression of tax-collecting activity at a fairly high level of the provincial administration.

+

5 +] καταλαβὼν τὰ ἐνταῦθα Γεώργιος
ὁ περιβλεπτος χαρτουλάριος τῆς
ὑμ]ετέρας μεγαλοπρεποῦς σοφίας
6 κ]ατέβαλεν ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πρώτης
καταβολῆς δωδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) νομίματα
τρι]σχίλια ἑνακόσια ἐξήκοντα δύο
πλήρης Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ πρὸς τὸ
αὐ]τὴν εἰδέναι ἐχίματα. σπουδάσει δὲ
10 κ]αὶ ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν τριῶν τὴν συμπλήρ(ωσι)
τ]ῆς πρώτης καταβολῆς πέμψῃ ἡμῖν.
ἰ]δοῦ γὰρ καὶ τὰ περὶ τούτου γεγράφηκεν αὐτῇ

6 ὠδ/ 7 1. ἑνακόσια 8 1. τό 10 συμπληρ/

ὁ δ]εσπότης ἡμῶν ὁ πανεύφημος
C]αραλανεοζᾶν. λοιπὸν καὶ αὐτῇ σπουδάσει
15 δι]ὰ συντομίας τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς
π]ρώτης καταβολῆς πέμψαι ἡμῖν,
ἐ[π]ειδὴ τὴν ἐκπομπὴν τοῦ χρυσίου
θ]έλομεν ποιῆσθαι πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην
ἡ]μῶν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν βασιλέων. +

20 Back. + τῷ τὰ πά(ντα) μ(ου) σοφ(ωτάτῳ) τι(μῆς) ἀξί(ω) (vac.) Μαρίνω . [(m. 2) Φαῶφι κρ, ἰνδικτίωνος) ἰβ, νο(μίματα) Γ' ἄξιβ ὑ(πὲρ) (πρώτης) κατα(βολῆς) (m. 3) Ρασβαγα. [

20 ἡμίσοφ(ι)ταξὶ 21 μβ θ], ῥακα[†]

'On his arrival here George, the admirable secretary of your magnificent wisdom, paid down to us in respect of the first instalment for the twelfth indiction three thousand nine hundred and sixty-two solidi in full by the Alexandrian standard, and I notify you for your information. Make haste to send us also, within three days, the balance of the first instalment. For remember, you have also had written instructions about this matter from our master the all-praiseworthy Saralaneozan. Now you yourself make haste immediately to send us the balance of the first instalment, since we wish to make the shipment of the gold to our master the king of kings.'

Back. 'To my in all respects most learned (and) worthy of honour Marinus . . .'
'Phaophi 21 (?), indiction 12, 3,962 solidi for the first instalment. Rasbana . . .'

2 καταλαβὼν τὰ ἐνταῦθα. Cf. XVI 1856 5; in 1829 18-19 restore probably *καταλαμβάνοντος* [τὰ], instead of [καὶ?], ἐνταῦθα.

2-3 Cf. XVI 1843 3 Γεωργίου τοῦ περιβλεπτοῦ . . . χαρτουλαρίου, who is very likely the same, see introd. A George with the same title occurs in XVI 1864, which is addressed to a Marinus like 3637, though his title there is τῷ ἐδοξ(στάτῳ), and which also mentions a twelfth indiction. Cf. 20 n.

4 μεγαλοπρεποῦς σοφίας. Cf. σοφ(ωτάτῳ), 20, and n.

6 The twelfth indiction must be that of 623-4, because no other falls in the period of the Persian occupation, AD 619-28, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 92-3.

8 Indeclinable πλήρης is normal, see W. Crönert, *Mem. Gr. Herc.* 179 n. 2.

Ἀλεξανδρείας. Sc. ζυγῶ, see L. C. West and A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 140-56. They conclude, p. 155, that this is an accounting term indicating that the money must reach Alexandria free of all deductions.

8-9 πρὸς τὸ (= τὸ) [αὐ]τὴν εἰδέναι ἐχίματα. Cf. 1843 11-12 πρὸς τὸ (same error) τὴν ὑμετέραν μεγαλοπρεπῆ καὶ πάνσοφον φιλίαν εἰδέναι ἐχίματα.

9-11 σπουδάσει . . . πέμψῃ. In 14 below, σπουδάσει, which is a jussive subjunctive of which the understood subject is ἡ ὑμετέρα μεγαλοπρεπῆς σοφία, is followed by an infinitive (πέμψαι 16) as expected, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §558. Here it is followed by a second jussive subjunctive, cf. ibid. §554(3).

14 Cf. BGU II 377. 1. Γνώσις τῶν δοθ(έντων) εἰς τὸ μαγευρ(εῖον) τοῦ δεσπ(του) ἡμῶν τοῦ πανευφήμ(ου) Σαραλανεοζᾶν (sic). Dr G. Poethke kindly confirmed from the original that *Σαραλανεοζᾶν* should be read there also. The Berlin inventory and the publication record that the papyrus came from the Arsinoite nome. If so, this person exercised power in both the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite nomes, see introd. The *Σαραλαν()* who appears in SPP X 251(a). 2 might possibly be the same, but there is no strong indication that that person is of very high rank.

It is not clear whether Saralaneozan is a name or a title. Having learnt from A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest* 75, that there is a Persian word 'Salar' meaning 'chief', I wondered whether this was the first element, with the

common confusion of lambda and rho, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* 1 102–10. I put this suggestion to Dr Ilya Gershevitch of Jesus College, Cambridge, who is inclined to accept it, though only tentatively. He writes:

It is indeed likely that, as you suggest, *Saralaneošan* contains *sālār*, “chieftain”. By this token there is a prima facie case for not regarding the word as a proper name, but as a title. *Sālār* (or its older form *sardār*) is well attested in titles, but invariably as the second compound-term governing the first, e.g. *spāh-sālār*, “army-chief”, or *artēštārān-sālār*, “chief of the warriors”, where *artēštārān* is plural of *artēštār*. It is therefore not very likely that in your compound *saral* governs what follows. What may be conceivable is that what follows is an epithet juxtaposed to *saral*. But the division of the words is a headache. Does the second compound-term begin with *ā*? Or is its first letter *n*, the preceding *a* being merely a euphonic vowel? Or should one divide *saralan-oozan*, treating the first term as the plural *sālārān* or *sālār*? On this last supposition let me venture a suggestion. In Avestan (spoken in the sixth century BC) the adjective *aiui.aojah-* occurs, meaning “die Übermacht gewinnend über” (with accusative), see C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* col. 88. This spelling shows that the Old Iranian form of the word was **abi-aijah-*, from which in Middle Persian (spoken from the third century BC to the seventh AD) **ayōz* is to be expected, and in New Persian (from the seventh century onwards) **yōz*. The loss of the *a* of **ayōz* in late Middle Persian would be acceptable. Semantically an adjective starting off as ‘overpowering’ could well, after a millennium, have ended up as ‘most powerful’. Since *-ān* is well attested as a suffix in Persian, **yōzān* would not need to differ in meaning from **yōz*. Your *Saralaneošan*, as **sālārān-yōzān*, would then amount to meaning “most powerful of commanders”. I give you this *jeu d’esprit* for what it is worth. No later form of Avestan *aiui.aojah-* has been identified anywhere.¹

The accentuation of *Capalaneošan* is based on Dr Gershevitch’s statement that he would ‘expect the long word to have borne two stresses, one each on the final syllable of its components, **sālārānyōzān*’.

Λοιπόν. For the use of this word in a temporal sense, as the equivalent of ἡδὴ, see D. Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque* 32.

15 δι]ὰ κυντομίας. Cf. 1843 14–15 διὰ κυντομίας πάσης.

19 On the title ‘king of kings’ in this period see E. K. Chrysos, ‘The Date of Papyrus SB 4483 and the Persian Occupation of Egypt’, *Dodone* 4 (1975) 343–8, esp. 344–5, id., ‘The Title Βασιλεύς in Early Byzantine International Relations’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 32 (1978) 29–75, esp. 35–6, cf. G. Rösch, *Όνομα Βασιλείας* 156, items no. 2 and 3 with n. 93, R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 131, *eid.*, *Regnal Formulas*, 82.

20 σοφ(ωτάτω) Cf. 3–4 τῆς [ἡ]ερέρας μεγαλοπρεποῦς σοφίας. Marinus ought perhaps to be identified with the *scholasticus* who was the recipient of XVI 1862, 1863 and possibly also 1864, see A. Claus, *Ό σχολαστικός* (Diss. Köln, 1965), 155 and n. 3. In PSI VIII 894 there is a *scholasticus* of the same name who has a secretary, whose name, however, is not George but Theodore, cf. *ibid.*, 155. That document, with an invocation of Jesus Christ, but without *intitulatio*, is also dated to a twelfth indiction and may well be of the same year as this one, cf. *CE* 56 (1981) 124–31, esp. 129–30.

The last letter of the line is a rounded one, so that it is possible that we should read and restore ς[χολαστικῶς].

20–1 Line 20 is written in the highly artificial and difficult upright style normal in addresses of this period. It is different in appearance from the body of the letter, but is best taken to be by the same writer. The first half of 21—as far as *κατα(βολή)ς*—is in a small angular hand. It probably belongs to the recipient or a clerk in his employ, the date being the date of the receipt of the letter. The rest of 21 is in a different rounded style.

A photograph of the back of 1843, which is now itself in Cairo, shows that the address there is the same for the first five words, + τῷ τὰ πά(ντα) μου σοφ(ωτάτω). After that, before a blank space, there is something which I cannot read and which is different from τ(ι)μῆς ἀξίω. After the blank space the writing is mostly lost in a hole; only feet remain in most cases. I cannot fit them to the name of Marinus, but I believe that the other factors indicate that he was the addressee. In the second line of the address there the letters given in the *ed. pr.* as . . . ραc Βαγα. . . are clearly part of the same combination as *Ραcβαγα. [here. In P. Rainer Cent. 13, 22, l. 4, there occurs a Persian name transliterated from the Pahlavi as Razbānag (p. 223). It seems a possibility that this or some similar name should be recognized here. The final letter does not look like gamma, or kappa, which may be a phonetic alternative, but rather a rounded letter such as sigma. The photograph of 1843 is too indistinct at this point to offer help. Dr Holford-Strevens informs me that Middle Persian *-ag* becomes Modern Persian *-ah*, pronounced *-e*, and suggests that we might reasonably take *Ραcβανᾶc as a Hellenization of *Razbāna(gh)* with the final consonant already weakening.

II. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3638. CESSION OF A SHARE OF A VINEYARD

27 3B.44/H(1–2)A

17 × 35.5 cm

11 September 220

The vineyard in question here was held by the seller in common with his full siblings, of whom there were at least two. By this deed he sold a half of his share to his half-sister by the same father, while the father provided the price of one thousand drachmas and acted for his daughter, who was a minor. Evidently the father was making provision for his daughter by buying for her property from which she could derive an income. The sale is called a cession because the land was part of the allotment made to a military settler of the Ptolemaic period, originally inalienable and held from the king in return for military service, cf. XLIX 3482 introd. For a short bibliography see O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* 210–11. The best Oxyrhynchite parallels are IX 1208, XIV 1636, XXXIV 2723, XLIX 3498, and P. Wisc. I g. The back of the sheet is blank.

I have derived great assistance from a transcript and notes by Sir Eric Turner, and from reading the document with a pupil, Jane Rowlandson.

Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος Χαϊρήμων υἱὸς Ἐρμίου ἀγορανομήσαντος β[ουλευτοῦ τῆς Ὀξυ-
 ρυγγειῶν πόλεως μητρὸς Ταῦριος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως τῇ ὀμοπατρ[ί]α ἀδελφῇ Αἰρη-
 λία Τετσεῖρι μητρὸς Τανετβέως ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως οὐδέπω οὐχ τῶ[ν] ἐτῶν διὰ τοῦ
 πατρὸς Αἰρηλίου Ἐρμίου χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ παρακεχωρηκέναι σοὶ διὰ τ[οῦ] πατρὸς
 ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἡμῖν μέρος τοῦ ἐπιβάλλον[τός] μοι μέρους
 5 περὶ κώμην Cωραρὸ τῆς κάτω τοπαρχίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ροδ[ί]ππου κλήρου
 ἀμπελικοῦ κτήματος καὶ τῶν φοινίκων καὶ φυτῶν καὶ ἀκροδρόνων κα[ὶ] τῆς προσούσης
 καλα-
 μέϊαν καὶ ὑδρευμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐπικειμένης αὐτοῖς μηχανῆς καὶ ἐποικίου καὶ λη[νοῦ] καὶ
 πίθου
 καὶ στεμφυλοργικοῦ ὄργάνου καὶ ἡλιαστηρίου καὶ ἐτέρων χρηστηρί[ων] καὶ συγ-
 10 κυρόν[των] πάντων πάντα ὅσου ἐστὶν ἀρουρηδοῦ κοινωνικῶν προ[ς] τοὺς ὀμογεν-
 κύου[ς] μοι ἀδελφούς, ὧν πάντων γείτονες νότου ὠνημέ[νη] c. 12 letters]. . .
 καὶ ἄλλω[ν], βορρᾶ χ[ύ]λης, ἀπηλύτου πλευρισμός, λιβὸς Τῶμις ποταμ[ός], τὰς δὲ
 συμπεφωνημέ-
 νας πρὸς [ἀ]λλήλους ὑπὲρ τειμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πωλουμένου σοὶ καὶ
 παραχω-
 ρουμένου ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἡμίμου(ς) μέρους τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντός μοι μέρους τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμπελικοῦ
 κτή-

1 διος

1–2 I. Ὀξυρυγγιῶν

3 I. Τετσεῖρει

7–8 I. καλαμέϊας

13 I. τιμῆς

15 ματος καὶ τ[ὼν] σ]υννομασμένων αὐτῷ πάντων ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομίματος δραχμὰς
 χειλίας ἀ[ὐτῷ] ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἑρμίου διὰ χειρὸς ἐκ πλήρους, ἀς καὶ
 προφέ-
 ρη ἐντεύθει ἀποχαρίζεσθαι τῇ αὐτῇ θυγατρὶ σου κατὰ χάριν ἀναφαίρετον. διὸ ἀ-
 πὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐς τὴν Τετσειρῶν κρατεῖν καὶ κυριεύειν σὺν ἐκγόνοις καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ μετα-
 ληψομένοις τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡμίσεος μέρους τοῦ ὡς πρό[ς] κειται ἐπιβάλλοντός μοι μέρους
 20 τοῦ τε ἀμπελικοῦ κτήματος καὶ κ[α]λαμείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συννομασμένων πάντων
 καὶ τελείαν γενομένην ἕξουσίαν ἔχειν χρᾶσθαι καὶ οἰκονομεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὃν ἐὰν αἰ-
 ρῆ τρόπον, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπάναγκον παρέξομαι σοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς παρὰ σοῦ μεταληψομένοις ὡς-
 αὐτως διὰ παντὸς βέβαιον ἀπὸ πάντων πάσης βεβαιώσει καὶ καθαρὸν ἀπὸ τε γεωργι-
 ἀς βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσιακῆς γῆς καὶ παντὸς εἶδους καὶ ἀπὸ ἀπεργασίας καὶ ὑδροφυλακίας
 25 των πλην μόνων τοῦ αἰρούντος μέρους τῶν τοῦ κτήματος χωμάτων, ὁμοίως δὲ ἀπὸ
 ὀφειλῆ[ς] καὶ κατοχῆς πάσης δημοσίας τε καὶ ιδιωτικῆς καὶ ἀπὸ δημοσίων καὶ
 ἐπιμερικῶν πάν-
 των τῶ[ν] μέχρι τοῦ διελθόντος [κ]αὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διελθόντος γ (ἔτους) διὰ τὸ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἐνεστῶτος δ (ἔτους)
 πρόσφορα εἶναι σοῦ τῆς ὠνουμένη[ς], πρὸς ὃν καὶ εἶναι <τὰ> ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 ἔτους δημοσία.
 30 κυρία ἢ παραχώρησις δις σὴ γραφεῖσα, ἣν περὶ ὀπῆνικα ἐὰν αἰρῆ ποιήσομαι σοὶ καὶ διὰ
 καταλογίου μηδὲν ἕτερον λαμβάνων παρὰ σοῦ, τῶν τελῶν καὶ γραμματικῶν ὄντων πρὸς
 ἐς τὴν Τετσειρῶν. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως γε[νέ]σθαι ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ σοῦ
 διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ὁμολόγησα. (ἔτους) δ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου
 Ἀυρηλίου Αντων[ί]νου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, Θῶθ ιδ'.

(m. 2) Ἀυρηλίου Χαίρημων Ἑρμίου πέπρακα καὶ παρεχώρησα τῇ
 35 [δ]μοπατρία μου ἀδελφῇ Ἀυρηλία Τετσειρῶν οὐδέπω οὕτῃ τῶ(ν)
 [ἔ]των διὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀυρηλίου Ἑρμίου ἡμίσει μέρους τοῦ ἐ-
 πιβάλλοντός μοι μέρους περὶ κώμην Σιναρῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥο-
 δίππου κλήρου ἀμπελικοῦ κτήματος καὶ καλαμίας καὶ
 τῶν ὡς πρόκειται συννομασμένων πάντων καὶ ἀπέ-
 40 σχον τὰς τῆς τιμῆς καὶ παραχωρητικῆς δραχμὰς χειλίας
 καὶ βεβαιώως ὡς πρόκειται <καὶ> ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα.

16 l. χιλίας 18 τετ'σειρῶν 26 ιδιωτικῆς 28 l. πρὸς ἦν 31 τετ'σειρῶν 35 τῶ
 38 l. καλαμείας 39 l. συννομασμένων 40 l. χιλίας 41 l. ἐπερωτηθεὶς

'Marcus Aurelius Chacremon, son of Hermias former agoranomus councillor of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, mother Tayris, from the same city, to his paternal half-sister Aurelia Tetsciris, mother Tanetbeus, from the same city, not yet of legal age, through their father Aurelius Hermias, greeting. I declare that I have ceded to you through our father from the present for all time a half-share of the share which falls to me in the village of Sinary in the Lower toparchy of the same nome from the allotment of Rhodippus of a vineyard estate and the dates and plants and fruit-trees and the adjoining reed-bed and wells and the irrigation machine installed in them and farmstead and treading-trough and vat and pressing-machine and drying-machine and all other appurtenances and attributes in all respects, of whatever acreage it is, held in common with my full siblings, of all which the boundaries are: on the south bought land of . . . and others, on the north an embankment (?), on the east a side-embankment (?), on the west the Tomis river, and I received on the spot the sum agreed between us in respect of the price and cession-fee for the same half-share being sold to you and ceded by me of the share which falls to me of the same vineyard estate and all the things named along with it, namely one thousand drachmas of money of the coinage of the Augustus from you (our) father Hermias in cash in full, which you also declare that you are henceforth granting to your same daughter as an unreturnable favour. Therefore I declare that from the present you Tetsciris own and possess with your descendants and successors the same half-share of the share falling to me, as aforesaid, of the vineyard estate and reed-bed and all the other things named along with it and on reaching your majority have power to use and dispose of it in whatever way you may choose, and I shall necessarily deliver it to you and your successors likewise perpetually guaranteed against all claims by every guarantee and free of liability for cultivation of imperial and domain land and every impost and for work on dikes and control of water in dikes excepting only the appropriate share of the dikes of the estate, and likewise free of debt and all distraint public and private and from state taxes and all allocations up to and including the past third year, because from the current fourth year the revenues belong to you the buyer, at whose charge lie also the state taxes from the current year. The cession, written in two copies, is enforceable, and I shall also make it for you through the office of the archidicasts whenever you may choose without receiving anything else from you, though the taxes and the scribal fees shall be at the charge of you Tetsciris. To the question posed by you through our same father concerning the correct and lawful transaction of these affairs I gave my assent. Year 4 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, Thoth 14.' (2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Chacremon son of Hermias, have sold and ceded to my paternal half-sister Aurelia Tetsciris, not yet of legal age, through our father Aurelius Hermias a half-share of the share which falls to me in the village of Sinary from the allotment of Rhodippus of a vineyard estate and reed-bed and all the things also named as aforesaid and I received the thousand drachmas of the price and the cession-fee and I shall guarantee as aforesaid and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

1 For the use of the *praenomen* with Aurelius as a status symbol see D. Hagedorn, *BASP* 16 (1979) 47-59. The persons are unidentified. Hermias does not appear in the list of councillors in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 140-7.

6 Ῥοδ[ίππου]. Cf. 37-8. This allotment is not in the list by P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 55 (1975) 159-244.

7 προσούσης. Cf. XIV 1631 7, XLVII 3354 7. However, the restoration is comparatively long; it might be better to omit this word and leave it comparatively short.

8 For λη[ροῦ] καὶ πίθου cf. XXXIV 2723 9.

9 στεμφυλοφυλακῆς ὄργανον. Elsewhere only in P. Osl. III 145. 3, XXXIV 2723 9, cf. στεμφυλοφυλακῆς in BGU II 531 ii 12, PSI VI 669. 9. Possibly this was a press which operated on the residue left by the treading of the grapes, cf. C. Ricci, 'La coltura della vite e la fabbricazione del vino nell'Egitto greco-romano', *Studi della Scuola papirologica* (Milan, 1926) iv 1. 57.

10 ὅου ἐστὶν ἀρουρηθῶ. Cf. H. H. July, *Die Klauseln hinter den Maßangaben* 40-7, esp. 42-3.

11 The writing down to the end of ἀδελφούς is rather larger and more widely spaced than usual. It looks as if a gap was left between πρὸς (10) and ὅν πάντων and was subsequently filled up by the same writer.

ἀνημέ[ρη]. Cf. XLII 3047 13 n.

12 γ[ύ]ψος. The reading is by J. Rowlandson; cf. e.g. XLIX 3482 22 n. The meaning is still in doubt, but it appears to have been some sort of embankment, cf. *ZPE* 31 (1978) 94.

πλευρισμός is also some sort of channel or embankment, see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 36, but its nature is imperfectly understood. The root meaning, 'rib', suggests that it was an offshoot from a larger drainage feature of the same kind.

Τόμις ποταμός. This is the ancient name for the Bahr Yusuf, cf. P. Coll. Youtie II pp. 462-3. Dr Z. Borkowski suggested privately some time ago that Sinary is to be identified with Shinara, see Survey of Egypt map (1930; scale 1:100,000), Maghāgha section, c. N 28° 47' E 30° 46'. The names resemble one another and the location of Shinara in the northernmost part of the territory of Oxyrhynchus corresponds with the known fact that Sinary was in the Lower, i.e. northernmost, toparchy. The map shows Shinara on the eastern bank of the Old Bahr Yusuf, which agrees very well with this new information that land at Sinary was bounded on the west by the river Tomis.

12-13 For the restoration *τὰς δὲ συμπεφωνημένας* cf. X 1276 g.

16-17 This passage suggests that we should read in 2723 18 ἀς κ[ω] [ἐν]τ[ε]ρ[ε]θεν προφέρε[τ]ε[ρ] [ἀποχαρί]ζεσθαι τῷ . . . υἱῷ, 'which he also declares that he is granting henceforth to his son'.

25 μόνων. Read perhaps μόνων—a phonetic equivalent—as an adverb, or μόνων agreeing with μέρουσ.

3639. LEASE OF AN OIL-FACTORY

65 6B.36J(1-3)b

13.5 × 21 cm

11 September 412

The consular date clause differs from the modern *fasti* and agrees with two other clauses from papyri in attributing to Honorius a ninth consulship in 411; see *Mnemosyne* 31 (1978) 287-93 for a discussion of the evidence. This papyrus adds nothing except confirmation of the regular form of the clause at this time.

A plausible explanation, based on the state of confusion after Alaric's sack of Rome in 410, is advanced by Professor Alan Cameron in *BASP* 16 (1979) 175-7, cf. now 18 (1981) 69-72. According to this it was decided to cancel an abortive ninth consulship of Honorius in 411 and announce it anew for 412, and a trace of an original date clause of 411 seems to survive in the Theodosian Code. What we still conspicuously lack is an explanation of the use of the post-consular formula in the papyri as late as September 412, if the decision to cancel and reannounce the ninth consulship was taken in, say, October or November 411, as suggested in *BASP* 16 (1979) 177. Not that this is an isolated phenomenon. The persistence of post-consular formulae into the second half of the year is common in fifth-century papyri, see *BASP* 17 (1980) 32-3. Perhaps we should look for a single administrative cause, though it is hard to imagine one, rather than a series of explanations based on current events connected with each particular instance.

Other leases of oil-factories are CPR I 242 = SPP XXII 173 (AD 40), P. Lond. II 280, pp. 193-4 = W. *Chr.* 312 (AD 55), P. Aberd. 181 (Claudius or Nero), P. Sorb. inv. 2371 (AD 104/5; ed. D. Bonneau, *Scritti* . . . O. Montevicchi 49-57), P. IFAO III 53 (AD 102-16—a fragment, perhaps not actually the lease itself), PSI IX 1030 (AD 109), SPP XXII 177 (AD 137), P. Amh. II 93 = W. *Chr.* 314 (AD 181), P. Fay. 95 (ii AD), P. Flor. III 285 (AD 552). Two of these, P. IFAO III 53 and P. Fay. 95, are from Dionysias; P. Sorb. inv. 2371 is from Theadelphia, PSI 1030 from Oxyrhynchus, relating to a village, P. Flor. 285 from Aphrodite in the Antaeopolite nome; all the others concern property in Socnopaeu Nesus. Most are fairly badly damaged and offer few clues to the restoration of the lost portions to the right and at the foot here. What remains of the technical terminology is interesting, though far from easy to understand.

We may compare also W. *Chr.* 176 and BGU XI 2066, petitions about disputes

arising out of leases of oil factories, also in Socnopaeu Nesus. BGU 2066 introd. contains a useful short bibliography.

The back is blank so far as it is preserved.

μετὰ τῆ]ν ὑπατίαν τῶν δεσπο[τῶν ἡμῶν Ὀνωρίου
τὸ] θ'' καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ δ'' τῶ]ν αἰωνίων Ἀγούστων
(vac.) Θῶθ ιδ. (vac.) [

- Φλαουῖω Λιμενίω λαμπροτάτ[ω ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)
5 Ὀξυρρυχιδῶν πόλεως παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Πέτρο[υ c. 12 letters
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἐλαιουργοῦ. ἐκουσίως ἐπι[δέχομαι μισθώ-
σασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Θῶθ τοῦ ἐγ[ε]τώτος ἔτους
πῆνη'' τῆς παρούσης ἐνδεκάτης ἡνδικ[τίωνος ἀπὸ τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων σοὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει ἐπ' ἀμφ[όδου c. 8 letters
10 Παρεμβολῆς ὀλόκληρον ἐλαιουργοῦ]ν] ε[c. 15 letters
ον ἐν σὺν τροβίλω καὶ καταθ[. . . .] [c. 12 letters
κοπικὸς σὺν θυνείη καὶ ὦμοι δύο καὶ . . . [c. 15 letters
καὶ ἐπαύλειε καὶ τόποι{.} καὶ φρέαρ καὶ . . [c. 15 letters
πάντα καὶ τελέσω ὑπὲρ φόρου ἐμγαζίως . [c. 12 letters
15 ἐλαίου ρεφανίνου ξέστας ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι[c. 12 letters
καθαροῦ ἀρτάβα ἐκατὸν εἴκοσι . [c. 12 letters
. . . κ[c. 10 letters] . . κ . . [c. 20 letters

1 l. ὑπατίαν 3 φλαουῖω 8 ἡνδικ[τίωνος 10 l. ἐλαιουργεῖον 15 l. ρεφανίνου

'After the consulship of our masters Honorius, for the 9th time, and Theodosius, for the 4th time, the eternal Augusti, Thoth 14.

To Flavius Limenius, *vir clarissimus*, of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelius Petrus . . . of the same city, oil-manufacturer. I willingly undertake to lease from the present month of Thoth of the current year 89 (and) 58, of the present eleventh indiction, out of property belonging to you in the same city in the district of . . . Camp, a complete oil-factory (in working order?), in which there is one mill (?) with *strobilus* and *calathus*, and a (stone for crushing vegetable matter?) with a mortar, and two arms (?) and . . . and courtyards and outhouses (?) and a well and . . . and all . . . and I shall pay in respect of rent yearly . . . 120 (+?) sextarii of radish oil and 120 (+?) artabas of pure . . .'

2 }θ''. The trace is an arc, almost amounting to a quadrant, from the lower right of a large rounded letter, clearly theta and not eta.

4 Flavius Limenius has not been identified elsewhere. Three papyri from Oxyrhynchus of about the right date also contain the name Limenius and may refer to the same man, XIV 1752 (AD 390), PSI VIII 884 (AD 391), and PSI IX 1081 (iii-iv).

5 The end of the line probably contained the filiation of Aurelius Petrus.

8 For the Oxyrhynchite eras see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 36-42. Eras 89 and 58 = AD 412/13 = indiction 11.

9 At the end restore Ἄνω, or Ἰππέων, or Λυκίων, cf. H. Rink, *Straßen- und Viertelnamen* 52.

10 *ἐλαιουργία*[ν] = *ἐλαιουργεῖον*. The word here denotes a building, as for instance in P. Mich. V 322a. 8 9, *οἰκίας τρίς* (= *τρεις*) . . . , *μία μὲν δίστεγος λογομένη ἐλευθέρων* (= *ἐλαιουργεῖον*).

10-11 Restore probably *ἐν τῷ μύλαϊ*]¹¹ *ον ἐν τῷ στροβίλῳ καὶ καλάθῳ*]. If the last surviving epsilon in 10 belongs to *ἐν*, the line was rather shorter than 6-8, where twelve to fourteen letters are missing. More likely it belongs to an intervening word, such as *ἐνεργόν*, 'in working order', cf. P. Amh. II 93 (= W. Chr. 314). 8, *Scrilli* . . . *O. Montevecthi*, 50 (l. 6).

For *μύλαϊον* cf. P. Mert. I 39, 9, *μύλαϊον ἐν τῷ στροβίλῳ* (l. *στροβίλῳ*, cf. 6, 10). For *στροβίλος* and *καλάθος* as parts of a mill see XVI 1983, where a *καλάθος* (or *κάλαθον* neuter?; see 15, *τὸ αὐτὸ κάλαθον*) needed for a tenant's *μύλαϊον* was supplied along with a *στροβίλος*. This was a grain mill, see *ἀρτοποιαίαι* (20). *Strobili* also occur in the fragmentary bakery leases P. Rein. II 108 and SPP XX 131. In XIV 1704 11 it has been supposed to be part of an irrigation machine, 'winch, windlass', but the text is suspicious, [*καὶ τοῖ] ἐν αὐτῆς* (l. *αὐταῖς*) *μοι* (l. *μου*) *ἀντλητικῆς* (l. *ἀντλητικῆς*) *ἐν στροβίλῳ*, which invites the interpretation *μοι[αίου]* (the phonetic equivalent of *μύλαϊου*) *ἀλετῆς*. A photograph of 1704, itself now in Cairo, shows that the space favours this, and the remains are suitable though not very clear on the photograph. Compare *μηχανὴ ἀλετῆς* P. Cair. Isid. 64 (= SB VI 9168). 20; cf. P. Ryl. II 321, 5, P. Mil. Vogl. II 53 (= SB VI 9265). 11. In XVI 1890 8 *λίθος ἀλετῆς* should be read, and *στεγνός* should be deleted from LSJ Suppl. and S. Daris, *Sproglia lessicata*.

Other references to *στροβίλος* in the same sense are P. Cair. Isid. 137. 12 (in an inventory with *κοπτοῦρα*, 'mortar') and XVI 1912 145, *τμήτης στροβίλ[α]ίου* c. 13] *εἰς τὸ μύλαϊον*, where the gap may have contained *καὶ καλάθου* (ten letters). Add P. Laur. IV 164, a lease of something *ἐν στροβίλος* . . . *καὶ θυεῖη*.

Unfortunately the meaning of these terms is still not known, though 3641 now helps by showing that they were made by a *μυλοκόπος* and that they were of stone. Tentatively I suggest that the *strobilus* is the cone- or bell-shaped lower stone of a donkey-mill, the *meta*, as described and discussed in L. A. Moritz, *Grain Mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* 74-96, cf. K. D. White, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World* 15, and that the *calathus* is the upper stone, the *catillus*.

In this machine the lower millstone was a free-standing pillar about one metre high, firmly founded in the floor, with the top shaped like a bell or dome with a blunt point. The shaped top does not much resemble a pine-cone, but it is very like the bottom of a child's whipping-top, also called *strobilus*, see those illustrated in W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, pl. 1.

The upper stone was in the shape of a tall waisted drum. The top and bottom of the drum were each drilled out to the shape of a funnel, and the tips of these funnels met and communicated inside the waist, so that the lower half of the hollow interior would fit over the *meta* and grind the grain against it, while the upper half served to funnel the grain down between the grinding surfaces. The exterior shape might be thought to resemble a waisted basket. This is not exactly the shape attributed to the *calathus* in K. D. White, op. cit., 70-3, but some of the illustrations in the article on the *calathus* in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* i. 2. 812-14, namely figs. 998, 999, and 1001, show shapes quite like the *catilli* illustrated in Moritz, op. cit., pls. 4 and 5 (opp. pp. 64 and 65), p. 75 (fig. 8), pl. 7 (opp. p. 77), pl. 9b (opp. p. 86), pl. 10 (opp. p. 92), and in R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, pl. xxviii.

A system of overhead beams supported the upper stone and another beam projected horizontally from its waist, against which a donkey could push to rotate the stone. Donkey-mills were in use in Egypt, see VI 908 (AD 199). What can only be the *meta* of such a mill was uncovered at Caranis and is illustrated in A. E. R. Boak and E. E. Peterson, *Karanis: Topographical and Architectural Report, 1924-8* (University of Michigan Humanistic Series XXV, 1931), pl. xxix, fig. 57. The top is worn much flatter than those illustrated in Moritz, op. cit., pl. 6, for instance, but the resemblance is unmistakable.

This sort of mill would not be suitable for dealing with olives, which required a quite different apparatus to avoid crushing the stones, see A. G. Drachmann, *Ancient Oil Mills and Presses*; K. D. White, op. cit., 225-33. However, Egypt was poor in olives and *ἐλαιον* in the papyri usually means vegetable oil, of which there were many kinds, such as sesame, saffron, castor, linseed, and radish oil, see T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes* 136-8. Here part of the rent is in radish oil, see 15 and cf. 11-12 n. The mill concerned must have been in use for grinding oil-bearing seeds, cf. M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 197-200, 204. That mills with *strobilus* and *calathus* were used in bakeries, on farms, and in oil-factories is now shown by 3641 8-10.

In the same photograph as the Caranis *meta* are shown three or four drum-shaped stones, which may well have been used for grinding, and the heavy stone base, or *ara*, of a press, briefly described in Boak and Peterson, op. cit. 37, cf. Pl. XXVIII, fig. 56. The presence of the press could indicate that this area was used for the manufacture of oil.

It is worth noting that there were two adjacent places on the south coast of the Gulf of İzmit in the Sea of Marmara, near modern Yalova, which were called *Στροβίλος* and *Κάλαθος*, see J. and L. Robert, *REG* 92 (1979) 514-15, no. 548, referring to S. Şahin, *Bithynische Studien* 29 48, esp. 29-39 (in Turkish), cf. L. Robert, *Journal des savants* 1979, 270 ff., *ZPE* 47 (1982) 50 and n. 18. It seems very likely that these names should be interpreted as Nether Millstone and Upper Millstone. L. Robert has already concluded that there were two levels to the site, 'Il y avait donc deux agglomérations de Pylai'—the name of the same place towards the end of the eighth century AD—'Pylai d'En-Haut et Pylai d'En-Bas' (*REG* loc. cit.). Presumably the peculiarities of the topography gave the names a special force.

11-12 The traces are very scanty and faint. Restore perhaps *καλάθ[ω] καὶ λίθος λαχανο[]¹²κοπικός ἐν θυεῖη*, though the only parallel known is XVI 1913 65 *ὑπὲρ τμήτης λίθου λαχανοκοπικῆς ἀγοραθῆ(έντων) καὶ δοθ(έντων) εἰς τὸ γεωχικ(όν) ἐλαιουργεῖον τοῦ κτήματος) . . .* This would presumably be an apparatus for crushing oil-bearing vegetable matter, seeds of, for example, radish, since the rent is partly in radish oil, cf. above 10-11 n. The items *λίθος* *αιτοκοπικός ἐν θυεῖη* and *λίθος ἀλετῆς* (cf. above 10-11 n., para. 2) *ἐν θυεῖη* in XVI 1890 8-9 show that a 'stone' and 'mortar' go together suitably. Presumably in our case the apparatus is not for grain, i.e. not *αιτοκοπικός*.

12 *ἄμοι δύο*. What is meant is not clear. Two passages show that they were of wood and probably that they were solid hewn wood and not complicated pieces of carpentry. These are: SB VI 9406. 45-6 *τέκτονι ποιούντι δίφρονος καὶ ἄλοτρον* (l. *ἄλοτρον*) *καὶ κόφραντι ἄμοι* (l. *ἄμοι*) *(δύο) εἰς χρῆαν τοῦ ἐλαίου*; P. Ryl. II 236. 22-6 *ποιήσαν δὲ ξηραντῆς ἄμοι* *δύο κοπήται ἵνα χωρήσωσι εἰς τὸ ἐλαιουργεῖον*. Four passages in all—ours, the two just quoted, and P. Flor. II 233. 3-8—refer to pairs of timbers. In P. Sorb. inv. 2371 (*Scrilli* . . . *O. Montevecthi* 50). 7-8 we find *θλίψαι] δύο καὶ τριβῆς (= τριβῆς) δύο*, which may possibly be relevant. It is also possible that P. Fay. 110. 29 *τὰς ἀνάσας τοῦ ἐλαιουργεῖον* could be relevant.

. . . [A possible reading might be *πύλλ[ω] (or -ω)*, see the *χαλκίον* in P. Fay. 95. 11, cf. T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes* 140. The remains do not suit *π(ε)λά*, 'mortar', which might be appropriate, cf. White, op. cit., 9; XVI 1890 12, P. Mert. I 39. 10, P. Rein. II 108. 4.

13 *ἐπαύλεις*. Though it appears to be a plural, this may be the phonetic equivalent of *ἐπαυλις*, singular. *τόποι* (. . .). The final letter looks like an anomalous sigma or epsilon, or like omicron with an oblique projection upwards to the right. Possibly it has been cancelled and we should read [. . .]. The translation has 'outhouses (?)' only as a stopgap; it is not clear whether these are areas in the open air or rooms indoors, cf. *WB* s.v. *τόπος* (i).

13-14 *Τὰ πάντα* at the beginning of 14 suggests that some word meaning 'appurtenances' preceded, e.g. *ἀνήκοντα, χρηστήρια, συγκύροντα, ἐπιτήδεια*. None of these fits the traces in 13, but it is not very likely that there was room for another item after the well.

14 At the end of the line there perhaps stood a term for the payment of the rent each year, i.e. in such and such a month. There would be several crops of vegetables each year, so that there is no way of guessing which month was specified.

15 *ἐλαίου βεβανίον*. See P. Mich. XI 613. 4 n. for a bibliography. The radish seed produced the oil. On the spelling see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 280.

At the end of the line restore perhaps *καὶ λαχανοσπέρμου*, cf. PSI IX 1030. 12-13 *καδ' ἐνιαυτὸν (= κατ' ἐ) ἀμειβί λαχανοσπέρμ[ω]ν ἀράβα[]τα] c. δέκα*.

3640. RECEIPT FOR ROPES

54 1B.26(E)/D(6)a

15.5 × 9.5 cm

20 July 533

The two ropes or coils for which this is a receipt were to replace old ropes on an irrigation machine. Similar documents are I 147 (= SPP III 281) and XVI 2015, cf. E. R. Hardy, *Large Estates* 128-9 and n. 1. All three documents emanate from monasteries. In this case the monastery is the hitherto unknown one of *Ἀπα Hierax*. From the fact that its head, called an archimandrite, is a deacon and not a priest we may

surmise that it was a small house; see P. Baden II 55, 2-3, P. Ross.-Georg. III 48, 2 for the combination 'priest and archimandrite'.

The writing runs across the fibres of a piece of papyrus which shows no sheet join. The back is blank.

+ ἐδόθη(η) δι(ὰ) Ἰωάννου διακ(όνου) καὶ ἀρχιμανδρ(ίτου) μοναστη(ίου) ἸΑπα
 Τέρακος
 Φοιβάμμωνι καταμείν(αντι) ἕξω τῆς πύλης εἰς τὴν μηχ(ανήν) ἀντλοῦσαν
 εἰς τὸ μικρ(όν) πωμάρ(ιον) ἐγγυὸς Εὐτρυγίου ἀντὶ τῶν παλαιωθέντων
 [c]χ[ο]νίων σχοινία ἦτοι κρίκια δύο, γί(νεται) σχοιν(ία) ἦτοι κρίκ(ια)
 β̄ μόνα{c}.

5 (ἔτους) cθ ροη, Ἐπειφ κς ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἑνδεκάτης. (vac.)
 (vac.) | γί(νεται) σχοιν(ία) ἦτοι κρίκια δύο||.

1 εδοθη, δι, διακ, αρχιμανδρ, μοναστηρ | 2 καταμεινω, μηχς | 3 μικρ/πωμαρ | 4 γι/σχουω,
 κρικι | 5 L cθροη, ωδ | 6 γι/σχουως

'There were supplied through John, deacon and archimandrite of the monastery of Apa Hierax, to Phoebammon, sub-tenant (?) outside the gate, for the irrigation machine which draws water for the little orchard at Eutrygius', in place of the decayed ropes, two ropes or coils, total 2 ropes or coils only. Year 209, 178, Epeiph, 26, indiction 11.'

'Total two ropes or coils.'

1 ἀρχιμανδρ(ίτου). Cf. F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* i, cols. 2739-61; P. Strasb. 679 intro.

2 Other occurrences of καταμείνω indicate that it had some technical sense which is not clear to us. These are discussed by I. F. Fikham, *Proceedings of the XII International Congress of Papyrology* 127-9, where it is suggested that it meant a sub-tenant holding land from a tenant-in-chief serving as an official in the administration of a large estate.

ἕξω τῆς πύλης. It is clear that this has nothing to do with the ἐξωπυλῆραι discussed by H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae* i 96 = *TAPA* 71 (1940) 656, but is connected with an adjunct of sixth-century Oxyrhynchus, the προάκτιον ἕξω τῆς πύλης (PSI III 193, 2, P. Wisc. II 66, 2, XVI 1925 44, cf. perhaps 1913 34), cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 156. G. Husson, *Rech. Pap.* 4 (1967) 192-6, has shown that it was a palatial residence of the Apion family, presumably close outside one of the city gates of Oxyrhynchus, with associated vineyards and other cultivated ground. From 1913 1, 6, 16, 20, 21, 45, 50, 63, 68, we learn that there were at least three orchards there, of which our 'little orchard' (3) may have been one, if these monks were supplying ropes for the Apion estate; we learn too that there were gardens there, and that irrigation was carried on, as well as pottery and brick-making.

3 ἐγγυὸς = 'chez', see D. Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque* 62-3, though in this case the personal name may have been fossilized into a place-name, as so often. Clearly the λαχανία Εὐτρυγίου of 1913 17, also 'outside the gate', may be connected.

4 σχοινία ἦτοι κρίκια. Cf. I 147 2 σχοιν(ίον) ἦτοι κρίκον ἕνα, XVI 2015 3-4 σχοινί(ον) ἦ[το] κρίκ(ο) α (ἡμικυ). The second document indicates that a σχοινίον, κρίκος, or κρίκιον was a coil of rope of a standard length. A photograph confirms that the symbol after κρίκ(ο) α—or κρίκ(ίον) α, as we now see—is the sign for one-half which resembles an L with the foot descending obliquely to the right. Otherwise one might have suggested that the term 'coil' referred to the rope quoits on which the pots of the modern sakiyeh are seated, see L. Ménassa, P. Laferrière, *La Sâqia* (Bibliothèque d'étude 67, 1974) 19-20 (figs. 18-20); cf. 42 (fig. 39d-e)—a similar quoit used in the harness of a draught animal.

5 For the Oxyrhynchite cras see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 36 42. A photograph of I 147 shows that the date was wrongly read as cλα καὶ c. It is cλβ καὶ cα. The beta is somewhat damaged, but certain; the remains of the alpha, which was very small, are scanty. This removes the contradiction remarked in *ed. pr.* between the era and indiction numbers. Year 232 and 201 = AD 555/6 = indiction 4, and the date of the document is 7 April AD 556.

The same photograph gives reason to doubt the unintelligible εἰμά(νον) after the total in 2. This is based in turn on 146 3, which is supposed to have γί(νεται) μονεί(ον) & εἰμά(νον) in full. In fact a photograph shows that 146 3 has ἑν μόνον (possibly μόνον) fairly clearly, and 147 2 may be read in the light of it as ἑν μόνον, which is very rapidly written but probably written in full. The first writer certainly wrote κρίκον ἕνα in 2, but the second writer chose to think of the object as neuter, perhaps thinking of the alternative name σχοινίον, or perhaps of κρίκιον, as here.

6 Very often such repeated formulae are in a different hand and constitute a countersignature. In this case I can detect no difference.

The initial oblique stroke, somewhat arched upwards towards the left, appears to be the sign that often represents (γί(νεται) or (γίνονται) by itself. If so, it is superfluous.

3641. CONTRACT OF A MILLSTONE-CUTTER

318/1

22 × 30.5 cm

7 February 544

A stone-worker specializing in the cutting of millstones concluded this contract with the large landowner Flavius Apion II. The workman was to provide, for the duration of his life, new parts, called *strobili* and *calathi*, at 2½ gold solidi each, or possibly at that price for each pair. He was not to withdraw his labour for any reason, except illness, upon penalty of a fine of 24 solidi, and this sum was also to be paid by Apion if he sought to dismiss the workman without cause.

The chief interest of the piece lies in the unmistakable implication that these mill parts, about which little is known for certain, were of stone, see 6 n., with 3639 10-11 n. It is also stated that mills with these components were used in bakeries and in oil-factories, see 8-10 n.

+ βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσ|πότην Φλαουτίου
 Τουστιμιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου
 Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους ιζ, τοῖς τὸ δ μετὰ [τὴν] ὑπατεῖαν Φλαουτίου
 Βασιλείου τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου), Μεχεῖρ ιβ, ἰνδ(ικτιώνος) ζ.
 Φλαουτίω Ἀπίωνι τῷ ὑπερ|φυεστάτῳ ὑ[πάτ]ῳ ὀρδωαρίῳ γεουχοῦντι καὶ
 ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ
 Ὀξυρυγγιῶν πόλει διὰ Μ]ηνᾶ [οἰ]κέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτώντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος
 τῷ ἰδίῳ
 5 δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπε|ρφ[υ]εστάτῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγήν καὶ ἐνοχίην,
 Αὐρήλιος Σερήνος
 μυλοκόπος τὴν τέ|χνην υἱὸς Ἥλίου[υ] ὀρμ[ώμ]ερος ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγγιῶν
 πόλεως
 χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἦ δὲ ταύτης μου τῆς ἐγγρ[ά]φ[ο]ν ἀσφαλείας ἐτοίμως ἔχω
 ἐργάσασθαι
 ἀπὸ [.] . . . ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς ζωῆς μ[ο]ν χρόνον εἰς πάντας τοὺς μυλαίους
 στροβίλλους τε
 κ[α]ὶ καλάθους τοὺς ὄντας ἐν ἐκά[τ]ρω τόπῳ τῆς ὑμετέρας οὐσίας ἐν τε
 κριβανείῳ τε
 10 καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς κτήμασιν καὶ ἐν ἔλαι[ου]ργείοις τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυείας
 ἀόκνω
 καὶ ἀκαταγνώστως εἰς τὸ μηδε[μ]ίαν μέμψιν ἢ ἀμέλειαν ἢ κατάγνωσιν ἢ
 ῥαθυμιά<ν>
 τινὰ περὶ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι δίχα ἀρρ[ωστ]ίας καὶ πόνου τινὸς καὶ δέξασθαι με παρὰ
 τῆς
 ὑμετέρας ὑπερφυείας ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου στροβίλλου νέου καὶ καλάθου νέου
 χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο ἡμισ[υ]ν ἰ]διωτικῶ ζυγῶ νομιτ[ε]νόμην, ἐμοῦ
 λαμβάνοντος
 15 τοὺς παλαιοὺς λίθους, καὶ μη[] . . ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας
 [χρείας
 ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφειλόντων γενέ[σθαι] [ε]ργων. εἰ δὲ [τοῦ]το ποιήσω, ἐπὶ τῷ με
 δοῦναι
 τῇ ὑμετέρῃ ὑπερφυείᾳ λόγῳ προστίμου χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια εἴκοσι τέσσαρα. εἰ δὲ

1 φλαουτιουστιμιανου 2 ι. ὑπατεῖαν; φλαουτίου, λαμζ, ἰνδ 3 υ[πατ]ῳ 4 ἰδιῳ
 6 υἱος 7 ἐγγρ[α]φ[ο]ν; ι. ἔχειν 8 στροβίλλους; ι. στροβίλους 9 ὑμετερας; 1st τε for τῷ
 10 ι. ἐλαιουργείοις; ὑμετερας?, ὑπερφυείας 13 ὑμετεραςὑπερφυείαςὑπερ, στροβίλλου; ι. στροβίλου
 15 ὑμετερας 17 ὑμετεραὑπερφυεία, τεσ'αρα

ἢ ὑμετέρα ὑπερφυεία διὰ τῶν αὐτῆς διοικητῶν ἐκβάλλω με ἐκτὸς καταγνώσεως
 ἢ ῥαθυμιά<ς ἢ> οἵαδῆποτε αἰτίας, ὑποκείσθαι καὶ αὐτῇ τῷ ἴσῳ προστίμῳ.
 ὑποθέμενος
 20 εἰς τὸ δίκαιον τούτου τοῦ συναλλάγματος ἅπαντά μου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ
 ὑπάρξοντα ὅσα τε νῦν ἔχω
 καὶ [ὅσα ἄλλα μ]ετὰ ταῦτα ἐπικτήσομαι ἰδικῶς καὶ γενικῶς ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ
 ὑποθήκης δικαίῳ.
 κύριον [ν τὸ συ]νάλλαγμα διεξὼν γραφὴν καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁμολόγησα. † (m. 2)
 Αὐρήλιος Σερήνος,
 μυλοκ[ό]πος τ[ῆ]ν τέχνην, υἱὸς Ἥλίου ὁ προγεγραμμένος πεποιήμαι τοῦτο τὸ
 συνάλλαγμα
 κ[ατ]ὰ τὸν προκείμενον τρόπον καὶ συμφωνεῖ μοι πάντα ὡς πρόκειται.
 Αὐρήλιος
 25 ε. 5 υἱὸς τ[ῆ]ν μακαρίου Ἰσακ ἀξίωθ(εἰς) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου
 ὄντος. †
 (vac.)
 (m. 3) † di' em(u) Iust(u) apo diacon(on) eteliioth(e) †
 Back, downwards along the fibres:
 (m. 1?) [5-10 letters Σερή]νο[υ] μ[υ]λλ[ο]κόπου τὴν τέχνην υἱοῦ Ἥλιου
 ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγγ(ιτῶν) πόλεως.

18 ὑμετεραὑπερφυεία 19 υποκεισθαι, ἴσω, υποθεμενος 20 συναλλαγματος, υπαρχοντα,
 υπαρξοντα 21 ἰδικως, υποθηκης 23 υἱος 25 ἰσακαξίωθς, ὑπερ
 26 diethius'apodiadoneliioth 27 υἱου, οξυρυγγς?

†In the 17th year of the reign of our most godly and most pious master Flavius Iustinianus the eternal Augustus and Emperor, in the 4th year after the consulship of Flavius Basilius, *vir clarissimus*, Mecheir 12, of the 7th indiction.

†To Flavius Apion the most excellent *consul ordinarius*, landowner here also in the glorious city of the Oxryhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the question and providing for his own master the same most excellent man the liability and responsibility, Aurelius Serenus, millstone-cutter by trade, son of Elias, from the city of the Oxryhynchites, greeting. I acknowledge through this my written assurance that I am ready to work from . . . for the period of my lifetime on all the milling *strobili* and *calathi* that are in every location of your estate, both in the bakery and on all the farmsteads and in the oil factories of your excellency, without reluctance and without reproach so that no condemnation or negligence or reproach or inefficiency may attach to me, except in case of illness or pain, and that I am to receive from your excellency in respect of every new *strobilus* and new *calathus* two and a half solidi of gold tested by the private scale, myself receiving the old stones, and that I am not . . . to withdraw from your service or from the works which require to be done. If I do this, I am to give to your excellency by way of fine twenty-four solidi of gold. If your excellency, through your administrators, ejects me without reproach or inefficiency or any cause whatsoever, you too shall be subject to the same penalty. I pledge for the legal force of this contract all my belongings now and in the future, such as I

now hold and such others as I shall acquire after this, in particular and in general, by way of security and by right of mortgage. The contract, written in two copies, is enforceable, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.¹

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Serenus, millstone-cutter by trade, son of Elias, the aforementioned person, have made this contract according to the aforesaid fashion and it satisfies me in all respects as aforesaid. I, Aurelius . . ., son of the late Isaac, on request wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.'²

(3rd hand) 'Drawn up through me, Justus, ranked as deacon . . .'

(1st hand?) 'Contract (?) of Serenus, millstone-cutter by trade, son of Elias, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites.'³

² The figures of the regnal year and the consulship are damaged, but the remains are very suitable and they may be regarded as certain because they are confirmed by elements which are certain. Mecheir 12 (= 6 or 7 February) of a seventh indiction in the reign of Justinian with a post-consulship of Basilius can only be 7 February 544 (leap year) or 6 February 559, see the synoptic table in R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 88–9. The regnal year must therefore be either 17 or 32, and the post-consular number must be 3 (new style 4) or 18 (new style 19). The second figure of the regnal year number has a long trailing finial sloping and curving down to the right, clearly the ζ of ζ = 17, and the post-consular number is rounded on the left, that is δ = 4 rather than γ = 3, ι[η] = 18, or ι[θ] = 19, all of which would be angular on the left.

³ For Flavius Apion II see the stemma in P. Oxy. XVI, p. 6; cf. *PLRE* ii 1325 (stemma 27), where he is called Flavius Strategius Apion. The article on him is reserved for *PLRE* iii.

⁶ *μυλοκόπος*. Cf. 23, 27. *Α μυλοκόπος* is a worker in stone, see T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes* 27, with 14–15 here, *ἐμοῦ λαμβάνοντος τοὺς παλαιούς λίθους*. Therefore the objects upon which he works, the *στρόβιλοι* and *κάλαθοι*, are stone parts of a mill; see 8–10 n. and 3639 10–11 n. for what is known and speculated about their nature. Hence the translation 'millstone-cutter'.

Ἡλίω. Cf. 27. In XVI 1983 of 535, a document addressed to Flavius Strategius I, the father of Flavius Apion II, who is addressed in this document, a *strobilus* and *calathus* are delivered *διὰ Ἡλίου τοῦ ἐνταῦθα* (= Oxyrhynchus) *μυλοκόπου*. Possibly these persons are the same and Serenus followed his father in the same trade.

⁷ For the restorations cf. XVI 1896 14–15 *χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν διὰ ταύτης ἡμῶν τῆς ἐγγράφου ἀσφαλίας ἐπιμίως ἔχειν . . . διδόναι*. Bad grammar appears below, see 19 n., so that *ἔχω* as a mistake for *ἔχειν* is credible, and *ὁμολογῶ* suits the remains very well, but we might have expected to find traces of the large initial chi as we see it in *χρυσῶ* at the beginning of 14.

⁸ We might expect *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, ἀπὸ τῆς σήμερον, vel sim.*, cf. P. Cair. Masp. I 67001. 21; 67006. 101; 67007. 22; 67110. 15, 20. The last letter before *ἐπι* looks like iota.

μυλάριον. Apparently *μυλιον* was written at first, and alpha inserted later, but the result is blotted and smeared, so the process may have had the reverse intention. The neuter form of the adjective, *μυλαῖον*, became the standard word for 'mill' in the papyri. Otherwise it hardly exists, except in the epigram *ἔχετε χεῖρα μυλαῖον*, *AP* 9. 418. *μύλιος* is attested in Procop., *Aed.* 2. 6. 7. 8. 18.

^{8–10} On *strobilus* and *calathus* see 6 n. and especially 3639 10–11 n. This passage states clearly that mills with these parts were used in bakeries, that is, for grinding grain, and in oil factories, that is, for grinding vegetable seeds.

⁹ The first *τε* seems to be a mistake, by anticipation, for *τῷ*.

¹⁴ *ἰδιωτικῶ ζυγῷ*. See L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Curse* 140–5.

¹⁵ *λίθους*. This makes it doubly clear that the *strobilus* and *calathus* are made of stone, cf. 6 n.

After the gap]φς might be read, i.e. *μή* + adverb + *ἀποστῆναι*. In I 140 24–5 we read *μή ἔξεν[αί] μοι . . . ὑπαναχωρήσει ἀπὸ [τ]ῆς ὑμῶν χρείας καὶ παραμονῆς. χρείας* is useful here as a stopgap at the end of the line, but *μή [ἔξενάι μ]οι* will not suit.

¹⁹ *αὐτῆ*. Correct probably to *αὐτῆ<ν>*, understanding *<ἐπὶ τῷ> ὑποκείθαι καὶ αὐτῆ<ν>*, cf. *εἰ . . . ποιῶ, ἐπὶ τῷ με δοῦναι* (15).

ὑποθέμενον. Instead of the hanging participle we should prefer *καὶ ὑπεθέμην*, as elsewhere, e.g. I 138 37, cf. 136 39.

²¹ [*ῥα ἄλλα*]: a stopgap, which could be varied in several ways, especially as *ἐπικτησομαι* might be a phonetic spelling of *ἐπικτησομαι*.

²⁶ The same notary appears in XVI 1985 32 (AD 543). The hand appears to be the same. Here as there

the writing after *etelieth(e)* has resisted decipherment. It might be tachygraphy, as suggested there in the note. The initial chi-rho monogram is complicated by a flourish at the top and a second chi underneath the first on the stem of the rho.

A Justus *diaconus* appears as notary to two later documents, one of 553 (XXXVI 2780 32), the other of 569 (I 134 30, where a photograph shows that *Ἰσαακ* should be corrected to *Ἰουδαιος*, 32, where for *Isat(u)* read *Iust(u)*—*iust* pap., cf. XLVIII, p. xv under 134). These two are probably the same as each other, to judge from the hands, which are, it must be remembered, years apart in date. The hand of the earlier Justus does not look very similar, but again the intervals are large. Unfortunately the meaning of *apo diacon(on)* is not sure. It might possibly mean 'with the honorary rank of deacon', rather than former deacon or simply deacon.

²⁷ At the beginning of the line there was probably some form of Christian cross, followed by a word for 'contract'; *συνάλλαγμα* is the likeliest, cf. 22, with I 136 41, 51; 140 29, 33.

III. PRIVATE LETTERS

3642. PHANIAS TO HARTHONIS

33 4B.83/B(3-8)a

7 × 16.5 cm

Second century

The interest of this letter is chiefly lexicographical. The form *δικακία*, feminine instead of neuter, has a rarity value, see 4-5 n.; a new word or name possibly occurs in line 16, *λοχιαδα*]; and the expression *ἡ πλαγία* (sc. *θύρα*), 'side door' or 'back door', is again rather rare. The door in question belongs to a Serapeum, which is probably the Serapeum in Oxyrhynchus, cf. 10 n.

The address is written across the fibres of the back. With respect to the front it is upside-down and near the foot. This indicates that the letter was rolled up from the top, cf. L 3560, 3591, 3592 introductions, and then pressed into a flat spill on which the address was written half on each side of a ligature which closed the letter.

Φανίας Ἀρθώνι τῶι
 φιλτάτῳ χ(αίρειν).
 μέμφομαί σε λείαν χ[άριν
 τῶν κάκκων καὶ τῆς [δι-
 5 κακκίας. ἰβ ἠνέχθη[σαν
 οἱ κάκκοι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ-
 του οὐπω ἠνέχθη ἡ δι[κακ-
 κία. πάντως οὐδὲν διὰ α[
 λου. πέμψεις. ἔρεις [
 10 ρωι [[ἐλθεῖν]] καταβῆν[αι
 εἰς Νεμέρα χάριν τοῦ
 ὀρίου τῆ ἰ, ἐπὶ σπείρονται
 οἱ τόποι αὐτοῦ. ἐπισκέ-
 ψαι τὴν μητέρα μ[ου
 15 καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τ[ὸν
 ἰατρὸν καὶ λοχιαδα[
 τὸ συνηλυμένον [δι-
 πλωμα ἔπαναγκασ[. .
 τὸν ἰατρὸν ταχέως[

1 l. Ἀρθώνει

2 χς

3 l. λίαν

12 l. ἐπέει

16, 19 ἰατρον

20 φραγίαι αὐτ[. . . .
 ψεις εὐθέως. κ[αὶ σύν-
 τυχ{υχ}ε τῆ μητρῆ [μου
 καὶ εἰπέ αὐτῇ εἰ ἔκ[τε-
 νίσθη τὰ ἔρια τῆς μη-
 25 τρός σου. εἰ δὲ μή, ἔπανα[γ-
 κάσεις αὐτὸν κτενίσαι.
 καὶ σύντυχε τῷ κακκο-
 ποιῷ τῷ πρὸς τῆ{ς} πλα-
 γία τοῦ Σεραπείου καὶ ἔ-
 30 ρεῖς αὐτῷ ἡ γέγονε
 ἡ δικακία Φανίου. καὶ
 περὶ τούτων μοι πάντων
 δηλώσεις. ἔρρω(σο). Ἀθῦρ ἰδ̄.

Back. Ἀρθώνι (design) φίλωι

30 l. εἰ

33 ερρ^ω

34 l. Ἀρθώνει

'Phanias to Harthonis his dearest friend, greeting. I blame you very much over the sacks and the saddlebag. On the 12th (?) the sacks were delivered, and so far the saddlebag has not yet been delivered. So send (it) without fail . . . Tell Horus (?) to go down to Nemera about the boundary on the 20th, because his pieces of land are being sown. Look to my mother and the house and the doctor and . . . When (?) you have compelled the doctor to seal the enclosed double document quickly, . . . immediately. And visit my mother and ask her if your mother's wool has been carded. If not, compel him (?) to card (it). And visit the sackmaker at the side door of the Serapeum and ask him if Phantias' saddlebag has been made. And let me know about all these matters. Farewell. Hathyr 14.'

Back. 'To Harthonis, (my) friend.'

4-5 [δι]κακίας. Cf. 7-8, 31. For the rarer feminine form see P. Coll. Youtie II 84. 12 (δικακία) and n., and the supplementary note by H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 108. The common forms are neuter, *δικάκκιον* and variant spellings. See also G. Husson, *Atti del XVII Congresso . . . Napoli* (forthcoming).

5 ἰβ. The letter was written on Hathyr 14 (33), so this seems to stand for τῆ δωδεκάτῃ, 'on the twelfth', and it is possible that we should actually emend it to <τῆ> ἰβ, cf. τῆ κ below (12). It is much harder to make the numeral 12 or 12th apply to the sacks or the saddlebag.

8-9 The doubtful letter in 9 appears as a round blot and may have been deliberately cancelled, like [[ἐλθεῖν]] in 10. If so, restore perhaps διὰ ἐ[λλ]ου [. . .]. A name such as Ἄ[ρπά]λου or Ἄ[κί]λου would also suit and other possibilities could be imagined. If the doubtful letter is not intended to be cancelled, διὰ δ[ι]φασ[α]λοῦς, 'by a safe messenger', is a strong possibility, cf. e.g. XLVII 3357 15-17 πέμψον μοι διὰ τῶν ἀνηλατῶν ἡ διὰ ἔλλου ἀφαλούς.

9-10 Restore probably a name, such as [Ἄ]ρωι.

10 καταβῆν[αι]. Compounds διὰ κατὰ are often used of journeys from a nome capital into the countryside, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae* ii 493 n. 36. This reinforces the suggestion of the find-spot that the Serapeum mentioned below (29) is the one in Oxyrhynchus itself.

11 Νεμέρα. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 114-15. The form *Νεμέρας* in I 76 12 is not well supported by a

10 Ἐπικούρεια, Θε. [.] ζ
 τούνομα. διχόθ[εν] . [.] ν
 τὸν νεανίσκον, καὶ δ' ἰ^ο ἐκξί-
 νον καὶ δι' αὐτὸν ἐπάξιων
 ὄντ[α τῆς] παρ^ο [.] μεῖν . . [. .
 15 σεως [. . .] ζ δὴ ουκ[ε] . . .
 αυτ, [. . .] θλα. [.
 coi [c. 16 letters

10 I. Ἐπικούρεια 14 I. ἡμῖν οἱ ὑμῖν

'Valerius Diodorus (?) to Ofellianus his brother, greeting. All men know . . . Therefore I write to you on behalf of Diogenes son of . . ., who is the nephew of a very close friend of mine, a man who was a philosopher of Epicurean doctrines, called The . . . (Loving?) the young man on both counts, since for that man's sake and for his own he is worthy of . . .'

1 The traces at the end of the line suit *Διδώρωρος* very well, although the damage is too great to allow complete certainty. The persons called Harpocration, Pollio, and Diodorus in XVIII 2192 have been identified by Sir Eric Turner with the author of the surviving lexicon to the Attic orators and two other Alexandrian scholars, father and son, Valerius, who are mentioned in Photius (*Bibl.* 149, 150) and in the *Suda* as students of Attic oratory, see *JEA* 38 (1952) 91-2; cf. Turner, *Greek Papyri* 87-8, *Greek Manuscripts* 114. B. Hemmerdinger pointed out in *REG* 72 (1959) 107-9 that the lexicographer was also a Valerius according to the *Suda*. Diodorus has appeared in a contract from Oxyrhynchus dated to the sole reign of Marcus, see introd. The *Suda*, though describing Pollio and Diodorus as father and son, appears to date both to the reign of Hadrian. Perhaps, therefore, *γεγονός* in the entry for Diodorus should be emended to *γεγονότος*, as follows: *Διδώρωρος, ὁ Οὐαλέριος ἐπικληθείς, φιλόσοφος, μαθητὴς Τηλεκλέους, Ἀλεξανδρέως, υἱὸς Πολλίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου, τοῦ γράψαντος τὴν Ἀττικὴν λέξιν, γεγονότος (γεγονός codd.) ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος Ἀδριανοῦ*. In his own entry Pollio is described as *φιλόσοφος γεγονώς ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ*.

1-3 The layout is doubtful. My impression is that 1 and 2 would have been blank after *Διδώρωρος* and *τῶι* and that *χαίρειν* would probably have been abbreviated to *χ^ε* in 3, but there might have been a very short *νοπεν* (*Λουκεῖται*, cf. 2 n., is too long) in 1, *κυρίαι* in 2, and *χαίρειν* in full in 3, or any combination of the three.

2 *Ὀφελλιανῶν*. The only person of this name known from the papyri is Lucceius Ofellianus, epistrategus of the Heptanomia c. 166-9, see J. D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Pap. Colon. VI), Part 2, 189, 201. In spite of the rarity of the name and the proximity of the dates the recipient of this letter is likely to be a resident of Oxyrhynchus and not the epistrategus.

4-5 The articulation *ἱεαε ν* seems unlikely. The last trace in 4 is from the foot of a long descender with a hook to the left, e.g. *ι, ρ, φ, ψ*. The first letter of 5 looks like alpha with part of the loop worn away on the left, or it might possibly be a botched lambda. We expect something like, 'All men know (that you do something praiseworthy), therefore . . .'. It might be a quotation from poetry with an uncontracted verb with a stem in alpha. Or possibly *εε* should be recognized. Or *φ[ι]λεῖς* might do, e.g. [*ἔπι ἡμάς*] *φ[ι]λεῖς*.

6 The patronymic might well be *Θεάωρος*. The remains of the first letter show a curve cut by a medial crossbar and are entirely suitable for theta. The fourth letter is represented by a foot which slopes and curves to the right in a way which is not characteristic of nu, but could suit a backhand version of it. It is close to the preceding letter and would be the first upright of nu. It looks as if another member of the family was also called Theon, see 10 n.

9 I take it that *γενομένου* means that the philosopher was dead, though there may be the possibility that *φιλοσόφου γενομένου* is the equivalent of *φιλοσοφούντος*.

10 Θε. [.] ζ. The final horizontal at the level of the tops of the letters makes sigma and a third declension genitive virtually certain. *Θέω[ν]ος* or *Θέω[ο]ς* would fit the very meagre traces and there is good reason to read this name also in 6. Since *ἀδελφίδος* can mean 'sister's son' as well as 'brother's son', the putative Theons need not be brothers, but it is not uncommon to find Egyptian families with two sons of the same name, often distinguished by *πρεσβύτερος* and *νεώτερος*. There was also a prominent Alexandrian family with Oxyrhynchite connections in which brothers were called Theon, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones* and XLIV 3197, but so far there is no Diogenes known in that family or any attested connection with philosophy. Theon is such a very common name that there is very little hope of identifying these men. No Epicurean philosopher of suitable name, origin, and date has been located.

11 [.] ν. Mr Parsons suggests *φ[ι]λ[ό]ν*, which is very convincing, to be followed at some point by a main verb in the first person singular. The first trace is the foot of a long descender, which suits phi, and omega is quite possible.

14 Restore [ἡ]μεῖν, 'us', meaning either 'you and me' or 'us and our friends', or [ὅ]μεῖν, 'you', meaning 'you and your friends'.

14-15 [.]]¹⁸σεως. The traces suggest the tops of two rounded letters, and these might be the last of the line, but probably some papyrus has been stripped away near the edge.

15 On the extreme left-hand edge of the sheet opposite this line there is some ink which looks like deliberate writing and might be read as *ιω* or possibly *ιω*. Presumably it has little to do with this document. Two letters may have been written originally on the same sheet which was then divided clumsily. Or the piece for this letter may have been cut from a piece that already had writing on it.

3644. HERAS TO PAPANTOS

14 1B.202/F(b)

13 × 22 cm

Third century

Here is a story of a woman who struck another with a heavy key and injured her so badly that she was still in bed at least four days later when the letter was written. The attacker had by then fled to another district.

The writer's vulgar Greek is fluent, but his spelling is phonetic and unfamiliar, so that it is best interpreted by printing a version in orthodox spelling alongside. All the unorthodox spellings can be matched by page-references to F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i, as follows:

171	μ > ν	3
213	ο > ου	3
277	ο > ω	3, 4, 7, 9 (<i>ter</i>), 10, 15, 17 (<i>ter</i>), 24, 25 (<i>bis</i>), 26 (<i>bis</i>), 27, 30 (<i>bis</i>), 32
276	ω > ο	4, 6, 9, 30, 31
90-1	χ > κ	7
192	α > ε	9, 30
190-1	ι > ει	14, 17, 22, 25
204	υι > η	15
93	φ > π	18
112	{ν}	18 (<i>bis</i>)
86	τ > θ	19
226-7	αυ > α	19
189-90	ει > ι	20, 26

159	ϵ > cc	23, 26, 30
197	οι > υ	26
192 3	ε > αι	28
155	λλ > λ	30
140	ξ > κξ	11-12

The writing shows the influence of the severe or mixed style, especially in the angular epsilons, and belongs probably to the third century. It runs along the fibres of a piece which shows no sheet joins.

Ἡράς Παποντώ[τι τῷ
 πατρὶ χαίρειν. [
 ἔπεινά σοι Ἀρπουχρᾶν τῶν
 ἡμέτερον ὄπως λάβη παρὰ
 5 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου γράμμα-
 τα ἐπιθηκῶν ἤ ξα . . . , [ἐ]πιθῆ
 συνεσχέθην ὑπὸ Κερ. [.]ος
 τοῦ φίλου καὶ ἀνήκας[ε] με
 ὡμῶς αὐτῷ ὄπως ἐντὸς
 10 τῆς κ̄ ἀναδοθῆναι αὐτῷ
 μετὰ πολλῆς ὕβ[ρε]ως. ἐκ-
 ξη. ηςη δὲ ε[. . . Ἀρπ]ουχράς
 [. . .] . [. . .] . [. . .] .
 καὶ εὔρον τὴν Καβεΐναν πεπλη-
 15 χήαν τὴν Σύραν καὶ ἐπυθόμεν
 αὐτῆς πῶς ἐπλήγη καὶ ἔμα-
 θον ὑπὸ πάντων ὥστε διὰ τὸ
 μὴ ἀφεθῆναι τὴν Καβεΐναν
 ἄρτι ἂ εἶχε ἐντὸς αὐτῆς ἢ κα-
 20 τίχε κλειδεῖ τῆς ἐξέδρας ἔπλη-
 ξε αὐτὴν καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμε-
 ρον ἡμέρας κατακλεινῆς
 ἔστω. ἢ δὲ Καβεΐνα ἀπὸ τῆς
 δεκάτης ἀνεύρετος ἐγένετω
 25 καὶ ἦκουσα ὥστε ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεω-
 πωλείτῃ ἔστω. ἐρεῖ σοι δὲ Ἀρπο-

Ἡράς Παποντῶτι τῷ
 πατρὶ χαίρειν.
 ἔπεινά σοι Ἀρπουχρᾶν τὸν
 ἡμέτερον ὄπως λάβη παρὰ
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου γράμμα-
 5 τα ἐπιθηκῶν . . . , ἐπειδὴ
 συνεσχέθην ὑπὸ Κερᾶτος (?)
 τοῦ φίλου καὶ ἠνάγκασέ με
 ὀμῶσαι αὐτῷ ὄπως ἐντὸς
 10 τῆς κ̄ ἀναδοθῆναι αὐτῷ
 μετὰ πολλῆς ὕβρεως.

 καὶ εὔρον τὴν Καβεΐναν πεπλη-
 χυῖαν τὴν Σύραν καὶ ἐπυθόμεν
 αὐτῆς πῶς ἐπλήγη καὶ ἔμα-
 θον ὑπὸ πάντων ὅτι διὰ τὸ
 μὴ ἀφεθῆναι τῇ Καβεΐνῃ
 ἄρτι ἂ εἶχε ἐντὸς αὐτῆς ἢ κα-
 20 τεῖχε κλειδεῖ τῆς ἐξέδρας ἔπλη-
 ξε αὐτὴν καὶ μέχρι τῆς σήμε-
 ρον ἡμέρας κατακλεινῆς
 ἔστω. ἢ δὲ Καβεΐνα ἀπὸ τῆς
 δεκάτης ἀνεύρετος ἐγένετο
 καὶ ἦκουσα ὅτι ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλεω-
 πολίτῃ ἔστω. ἐρεῖ σοι δὲ Ἀρπο-

χράς ἂ ἦκουσεν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἂ ἔπρα-
 30 ξεν πράγματα. ἐρ[ρῶς]θέσε εὔχ(ομαι).
 Φαῶφι ιδ'.

χράς ἂ ἦκουσεν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἂ ἔπρα-
 ξεν πράγματα. ἐρρῶσαι σε εὔχ(ομαι)
 Φαῶφι ιδ'.
 ἀλλ' ὄρα μὴ κατάσχησεν Ἀρπουχρᾶν διὰ τὸ
 ἐπείγασθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπιθηκῶν.

Left margin, downwards:

30 ἀλ' ὄρα μὴ κατάσχησεν Ἀρπουχρᾶν διὰ τὸ ἐπείγασθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπιθηκῶν.

Back, downwards:

[. . . () Παπ[ο]υ[τῶτ]ι [τῷ] πα- > < τρι π[αρ]ὰ Ἡράτως.

'Heras to Papontos his father, greetings. I have sent you our Harpochras so that he may get from my brother letters of credit for . . . , since I was detained by Ceras (?) my friend, and he compelled me with great violence to swear to him that they would be delivered to him by the 20th. . . . Harpochras and I found that Sabina had injured Syra and I asked Syra how she got injured and learnt from them all that because the things which Syra had in her possession were not immediately released to Sabina she struck Syra with the exedra key which she was holding and Syra is confined to bed up to the present day. Sabina disappeared since the tenth and I heard that she is in the Heracleopolite nome. Harpochras will tell you what he heard in the city of the things she did.

'I pray for your health.

'Phaophi 14.

Margin: 'But see that you don't detain Harpochras, because there is a rush for the credits.'

Back: 'Deliver (?) to Papontos his father, from Heras.'

1 There would have been room for Παποντῶ[τι τῷ κυρίως], but the wide spacing in 1-2 suggests that no more than τῷ was written.

6 For the little that is known about the term ἐπιθήκη, 'letter of credit', see XLIII 3146 8 n. Before ξα stands something with another horizontal bar over it. It might be φ = 800, or there might be two figures, e.g. ϛ̄ = 200 + (?). The plural in ἐπιθηκῶν, cf. 31, suggests that we should look for two separate figures here, i.e. not 861, but 800 and 61 *vel sim.*, though the absence of any indication of the units, e.g. drachmas, is disquieting. After ξα the size of the illegible writing seems much reduced. One might guess εἰς με[ε] (οἱ με), 'in my name', but this is highly uncertain.

7 Perhaps Κερᾶ[τ]ος. Κέρβ[ων]ος, even spelt Κέρβ[ων]ος, seems too long.

8 ἀνήκας[ε] = ἠνάγκασε. See XXXVI 2783 29 n., B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §268.

9-10 For ὄπως with the infinitive cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §776.

11-13 Perhaps understand ἐξηγήσῃ δὲ εἰ[άν] Ἀρπ[ο]υχράς . . . , 'You will have explanations to make if Harpochras . . .'; 13 might begin ἀποθῆμ-, just possibly. See the injunction not to detain Harpochras in 30-1. But this has very little chance of being right, especially since ἐξηγείσθαι is not attested with this special shade of meaning.

17-19 The interpretation is doubtful. The translation supposes that τὴν Καβεΐναν stands for τῇ Καβεΐνῃ, as it could easily do, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 111-12. Possibly it might be better to take τὴν Καβεΐναν as the subject of ἀπεθῆναι (ἀφεθῆναι) and ἂ εἶχε as an internal accusative, translating, 'because Sabina was not immediately released (from responsibility for) the things which she had in her possession'.

19 For the sense of ἐντός, 'in a person's hands, in his possession', see C. H. Roberts, *Harvard Theological Review* 41 (1948) 1-8, esp. 5-6.

20 κλειδεῖ. As implied by the story, a key of the period might be a very substantial piece of wood or metal. For illustrations see W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pls. lxxv, lxxvi, with the text of pp. 59-60.

ἐξέδρα. Usually thought of as an arcade or portico, the exedra in the papyri appears rather as a barn or outhouse, see e.g. BGU III 981 i 26 ἐξέδρα, εἰς τὴν ἐνκλείει (= ἐγκλείει) χόρτον(ν), cf. G. Husson, *Ktema* 1 (1976) 15-16.

29 Phaophi 14 = 11 October, or 12 October before a Roman leap year.
32], . (). The last trace is well above the line in a manner which suggests an abbreviation. We should expect ἀπ[ρο]σ(α), 'deliver', written απ]ρ^σ, and this may be right even though it is difficult to see the remains in that way. The sense must certainly have been the same.

For the interrupted saltire pattern in the middle of the address cf. 3642 34 n.

3645. DISCREET LETTER

9 1B.170J(b)

13 × 7 cm

Third century

'No names, no pack drill' is a motto that would have appealed to this writer. He suggests that he and another, probably the recipient, can now be protected by a person who has been appointed to a magistracy, by the magistrate's brother, and by a friend of the two brothers. When this friend arrives, the recipient is supposed to make himself known to him.

All four margins survive and, except for wear, the slip of papyrus seems complete. The pattern of folds shows that the sheet was rolled up with the right edge inside and that there was not another column to the right; otherwise the folds would have been wider apart. There is no proof that there was not a preceding column on the left, but there is nothing to suggest that there was. Probably, therefore, the absence of prescript, farewell formula, and address, is deliberate and was part of the same marvellous discretion which forbade the mention of names and makes it so difficult now to understand what the writer's predicament was.

The writing is a good sloping cursive, showing some influence from the severe or mixed style of book hand. This is especially noticeable in the last line and a half (from καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ), which are written in a blacker ink and much more compactly. They look as if they were written at a later time but by the same hand.

The back is blank, except for offsets left by the text of the letter while it was rolled up.

εἰ, ὡς ἀκούω, κατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς ἡμῶν ὁ κύ-
ριος ἡμῶν φίλος εἰσαῦθις ἄρχει, δύναν-
ται ἐκ ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως ἀμφοτέ-
ρους ἡμᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ῥύσα-
5 θαι παρὰ τῷ φίλῳ αὐτῶν, τῷ εἰς Ὀαίω
ἀναβάντι ὅποτε καὶ ἐπεδήμει ὁ βρα-
χύτερος αὐτῶν καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκεῖ ἐγέ-
νετο. ἐπιδ[ά]ν παρ' ὑμῖν γένηται, γνωρίζητι αὐτῷ.

8 l. ἐπειδάν; ἡμῶν

'If, as I hear, our prayers are answered and our lord and friend is to be holding a magistracy in the future, he and his brother can as a result of this give both of us protection with their friend, the one who went up to the Oasis at the time when the shorter (?) of them was also here and went there with him. Whenever he arrives among you, make yourself known to him.'

2 εἰσαῦθις ἄρχει, δύνανται. Possibly divide εἰς αὐθις, see *LSJ* Suppl., s.v. εἰσαῦθις. The sense of this word, 'for hereafter, for a future time', shows that the present tense of ἄρχει has a future meaning, cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 102-3 (§§214-5). The same may apply to δύνανται, but need not.

4-5 ῥύσασθαι. From this word one might guess that the difficulty here was, as so often, over public service, cf. XII 1424 9-10 σπούδασον τοῖνυν, ἀδελφε, τοῖτον ῥύσασθαι τοῦ λειτουργήματος.

5 παρὰ τῷ φίλῳ. The meaning might be that the friend was to provide a hiding-place for the two who were in need of protection, or perhaps he was simply the person on whom the magistrate's influence was to be exerted.

Ὀαίω. This is probably the Small Oasis, now Bahariya, in the desert west of Oxyrhynchus, cf. *Rech. de pap.* iii, p. 28, P. Merton III 106, 3 n., R. Pintaudi, *Miscellanea papyrologica* 325, 18 n.

6 ἀναβάντι. In this case ἀνα- refers to 'the ascent from the valley to the desert plateau', see H. C. Youtie, *Scripturae* 1493 n. 36.

6-7 βραχύτερος. Of the meanings recorded in *LSJ* only 'shorter' or 'less important' would apply to persons. I suspect that 'titler' i.e. 'younger' is a more likely meaning, cf. H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus* ii, col. 403B, citing Artemidorus, *Onirocritica* 1. 50 παιδίων βραχύ, 3. 27 νήπιου καὶ βραχεῖς; Schol. Aristoph., *Vesp.*, 570 βραχεῖαν τῶν παιδῶν ἡλικίαν (cf. βραχυήλιξ).

3646. HARSANTHOÛS TO FLAVIANUS

29 4B.48/H(7-8)a

10.5 × 25 cm

Third/fourth century

The mention of a strategus called Heracleides gives this private letter a little more than routine interest. He might be the Oxyrhynchite strategus of 288-9, see J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ZPE* 29 (1978) 182, no. 106, but the handwriting suggests rather a date in the early fourth century. He supplied hay for animals belonging to the recipient of the letter and this too suggests the fourth century, when the strategus was a member of the local curial class and no longer an appointee from another nome, cf. J. Lallemand, *L'Administration*, 123. Lallemand writes here of the later fourth century, but this seems to have been true also in the earlier part. For example, Aurelius Dioscurides alias Julianus, Oxyrhynchite strategus of 311, see *ZPE* 29 (1978) 183, no. 114, is virtually certain to be the same as the ex-prytanis of Oxyrhynchus addressed by the same names in 315 in XXXI 2585 3-4, cf. J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 13 (1974) 297. It is, of course, not entirely certain that our strategus held his post in the Oxyrhynchite nome, since the letter was found at Oxyrhynchus and may have come from somewhere quite outside that district. The writer, an older person but an inferior, seems to be reporting the situation at home to a man who is away.

κυρίω μου πάτρωνι καὶ
 υἱῷ Φλαβιανῷ χαίρειν
 Ἄρτωνθωοῦς ὁ πατήρ.
 5 ὄν ἐν' ἐπροδοκάς προσέχιν
 τοῖς πράγμασί σοι καὶ τοῖς
 κτή[ε]ι οὕτως δὲ ἡμέλησεν
 καὶ οὐ προσέχιν ὄλλως αὐτοῖς.
 ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλίδης ὁ στρατηγὸς
 γνησίως ἡπηρέτησέν σου
 10 τὰ κτήνη, δοὺς ἡδὴ χόρ-
 του δέσμας διςχιλλίας καὶ
 ἕτινος ἐὰν χρήζης λαμ-
 βάνω. οὕτως γάρ μοι λέγει,
 'περὶ πάντων τῶν πραγμά-
 15 των σοι διαφερόνθων σοι,
 μὴ ὄχνη ἐρχεσθαι καὶ
 λαμβάνειν'. καὶ ἐπίστειλον
 Ἐλουράτι περὶ οὐ[ο]ν Καῖτια
 20 δέκα, ἐπειδὴ χρεία ἐστὶν
 εἰς τοὺς γάμους τοῦ υἱοῦ
 μου. καὶ ὁ ἄν ποιήσῃς
 τῷ προφήτῃ, ἐμοὶ ποιεῖς.
 οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἐξω[ο]ν, οὐδὲς μοι
 μέλλει καταπατῖν. ἐρρώ[ε]θαί
 25 σε εὐχομαι, κύριέ μου πάτρων
 καὶ υἱέ.

Back, downwards:

κυρίω μου Φλαβιανῷ (vac.) Ἄρτωνθωοῦς ὁ πατήρ.

2 υἱω	2-3 I. Φλαβιανῷ Ἄρτωνθωοῦς ὁ πατήρ χαίρειν	4 I. ὄν ἐνα προδοκάς προσέχιν
6 I. οὕτως	7 I. προσέχει ὄλλως	8 I. Ἡρακλίδης
11 I. διςχιλλίας	12 I. εἶ	13 I. λέγει
17 I. λαμβάνειν, ἐπίστειλον	18 I. Αἰλουράτι; καῖτια; I. Καῖτιω	19 I. ἐπειδὴ χρεία
23 I. οὐδέ τις με	24 I. μέλλει καταπατῖν	26 υἱε

'To my lord patron and son Flavianus, Harsonthous your father, greetings. The one man whom you expected to attend to the business and to the animals for you—this is the one who has been neglectful and pays no attention to them at all. Heraclides the strategus has loyally served your animals, having already given two

thousand bales of hay, and anything you need I take. This is what he says to me: 'In all the affairs which concern you do not hesitate to come and take'. And write to Aeluras about ten Saite jars of wine, because they are needed for my son's wedding. And whatever you do for the *prophetes*, you do for me. Indeed I know that, while I have you, nobody is going to trample on me. I pray for your health, my lord patron and son.' Back. 'To my lord Flavianus, Harsonthous your father.'

1 πάτρωνι, cf. 25. The title is probably a mark of respect rather than a technical term, cf. CPR V 19. 18-19 n.

2 Flavianus is not identifiable; the name occurs in this spelling in I 43 verso v 10, VI 939 1, 32, XLIII 3124 1, 13, XLVIII 3386 3.

3 Ἄρτωνθωοῦς, cf. 27 Ἄρτωνθωοῦς. The name is not recorded in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. It appears to be related to *Κωντωοῦς*, cf. *Καντωοῦς*, *Κεντωοῦς*, *Κενεντωοῦς*, *Τακωντωοῦς*, *Κενωντωοῦς*. For theta in place of tau cf. 15, *διαφερόνθων* for *διαφερόντων*.

This line was added later in a smaller version of the same hand. It stands below 2, but it belongs before *χαίρειν*. In the margin to the left there is ink which seems to be accidental.

4 ὄν ἐν' ἐπροδοκάς. The damaged nu is split in two, but seems certain. The elision is a little unexpected, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 315. For the misplaced augment see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 252 d(2), B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 117 (§252).

6 For κτή[ε] = κτήρει see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 67.

οὕτως (= -οσ) δέ. Cf. E. Maysner, *Grammatik* ii 3. 132-3, but possibly δέ is for δὴ, cf. 19 and note on ἐπειδὴ = ἐπειδή.

9-10 The alteration of σοι to σου may indicate that the writer was aware that *ὑπηρεῖν* takes a dative and meant to write σου τοῖς κτήε.

13 It is possible, but perhaps less likely, that οὕτως stands for οὐτός again, as in 6.

15 For the repetition of personal pronouns cf. E. Maysner, *Grammatik*, ii 1. 63-4.

19 ἐπειδὴ = ἐπειδή. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 244.

19-22 It appears that the *prophetes* is to be identified with the person the writer calls 'my son' in 20-1, who may actually be his son, though it is fairly clear that the recipient, whom he also calls his son (2, 26), is not in fact his son. For the customary loose use of terms of blood relationship see P. Mich. VIII, pp. 16-17, with no. 468. 46-7 n.; cf. H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* i 393 (= *TAPA* 95 (1963) 341) and n. 39.

On *προφήτης* in Egyptian contexts see E. Fascher, *IPOPHTHE. Eine sprach- und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* 76-101. It is usually the equivalent of an Egyptian title, *hm-nty*, Demotic *hm-ntj*, Coptic ρⲟⲡⲧ, which means merely 'servant of the god'. The Greek term may originally have been applied to priests at Egyptian oracles and spread gradually to others. At this comparatively late date, however, there may be some connection with the worship of Hermes Trismegistus, see Fascher, op. cit. 98-100, and cf. P. Herm. Rees 3. 21-5, 26. The writer of that letter is an *ἀρχιπροφήτης* called Anatolius and he ends his letter with the wish that Hermes Trismegistus and all the gods may grant that the recipient be happy for ever. Two other letters from Anatolius are preserved, P. Herm. Rees 2 and SB XII 10803. On the whole religious context of the archive of Theophanes, with which those letters are associated, see E. A. Judge, S. R. Pickering, *JAC* 20 (1977) 53-4.

23-4 The 'correction' of *εχω* to *εχω[ο]ν* assumes that the writer intended a hanging nominative participle, which is well known in the colloquial language, see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* §879, H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* i 305 and n. 76. The omission of a final nasal is an even more common phenomenon.

INDEXES

Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or Suppl. The article and *καί* are not indexed.

I. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

Καίσαρ 3614 2

No titulature: 3601 31 (year 3)

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, CARACALLA, AND GETA

Αυτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σευήρος Εύσεβης Περίναξ Αραβικός Ξδιαβητικός Παρθικός Μέγιστος και Μάρκος Αύρηλιος Αντωνίνος Εύσεβης, Σεβαστοί, και Πούβλιος Σεπτίμιος Γέτα Καίσαρ Σεβαστός (year 11) 3601 35-9

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οἱ δέσποται ἡμῶν [Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστὸς] καὶ Μαξιμίνος Καίσαρ . . . (no date) **3618** 9-10

CONSTANTINE I AUGUSTUS *see* Index II (AD 326, AD 329)

CONSTANTINE II CAESAR *see* Index II (AD 329)

CONSTANTINUS II CAESAR *see* Index II (AD 326)

CONSTANTIUS II AUGUSTUS *see* Index II (AD 356)

JULIAN CAESAR *see* Index II (AD 356)

CONSTANTIUS II AND JULIAN (posthumous)

year 89 and 58 (AD 412/13) **3639** 8
year 209 and 178 (AD 532/3) **3640** 5

HONORIUS *see* Index II (AD 412)

THEODOSIUS II *see* Index II (AD 412)

JUSTINIAN

βασιλείας τοῦ θεοπάτορος καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότης Φλαυῖνος Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος (year 17) **3641** 1-2

CHOSROES II KING OF KINGS

ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων (AD 623) **3637** 18-19

II. CONSULS

AD 200 *Κεοῦηρος* καὶ *Οὐδικτωρίνου* ὑπάτοις **3614** 1

AD 326 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν *Κωνσταντίνου* Ἀγούστου τοῦ ζ' καὶ *Κωνσταντίου* τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τοῦ α' **3620** 1-3

AD 329 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν *Κωνσταντίνου* Ἀγούστου τοῦ η' καὶ *Κωνσταντίου* τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τοῦ δ' **3621** 1-3 ὑπατείας τῆς προκειμένης **3621** 20

AD 356 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν *Κωνσταντίου* αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου τοῦ η' καὶ *Ἰουλιανοῦ* τοῦ ἀνδρειοτάτου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τοῦ α' **3622** 1-2

AD 359 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν *Κηρωρίου* *Δατιανοῦ* πατρικίου καὶ *Νηρατίου* *Κεραεῶλου* τῶν λαμπροτάτων **3624** 18-21 **3625** 17-20

— ὑπατείας *Φλαυτίνου* *Ἐυεβίου* καὶ *Ἰππατίου* τῶν λαμπροτάτων **3623** 1

AD 412 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν *Ἰουλιανὸς* τοῦ θ' καὶ *Θεοδοσίου* τοῦ δ' τῶν αἰωνίων Ἀγούστου **3639** 1-2

AD 544 τοῖς τοῦ δ' μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν *Φλαυτίνου* *Βασιλίου* τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **3641** 2

III. INDICATIONS

3rd (AD 329/330) **3621** 9
7th (AD 543/4) **3641** 2
9th (?; fifth century) **3628** 3 **3636** 1, 18

11th (AD 412/13) **3639** 8
— (AD 532/3) **3640** 5
12th (AD 623/4) **3637** 6, 21

IV. MONTHS

Ἰθέρ **3601** 40 **3602** 29 **3603** 31 **3604** 28 **3605** 21 **3628** 6 **3629** 2 **3630** 2 **3632** 2 **3633** 2
3636 10 **3642** 33
Ἐπιείφ **3628** 33 **3629** 19 **3630** 29 **3631** 8 **3632** 23 **3633** 28 **3634** 10 **3640** 5
Θώδ **3608** 7 **3613** 26 **3622** 3 **3628** 5 **3629** 2
[**3630** 2] **3632** 2 **3633** 1 **3636** 8 **3638** 33
Μεσορή **3601** 31 **3628** 34 **3629** 19 **3630** 29
3631 8 **3632** 23 **3633** 29 **3634** 11 **3636** 7, 12
Μεχέρ **3620** 3 **3628** 19 **3630** 15 **3632** 15 **3633** 14 **3641** 2
Παῖν **3612** 9 **3628** 33 **3629** 19 **3630** 29 **3631** 7 **3632** 23 **3633** 28

Παχών **3621** 20 **3628** 33 **3629** 19 **3630** 29 **3631** 7 **3632** 23 **3633** 28 **3634** 9
Τύβη **3624** 21 **3625** 21 **3628** 19 **3630** 15 [3632 15] **3633** 14
Φαμενώθ **3628** 19 **3630** 15 **3632** 15 **3633** 14 **3634** 8
Φαρμούθ **3628** 20 **3630** 16 **3633** 15
Φαῶφι **3606** 3, 22 **3609** 15 **3628** 5 **3629** 2 **3630** 2 **3632** 2 **3633** 1 **3634** 12 **3636** 9, 12 **3637** 21 **3644** 29
Χοιάκ **3628** 6 **3629** 2 **3630** 2 **3632** 2 **3633** 2 [3634 7] **3636** 11

V. PERSONAL NAMES

Ἀγχορίμφις, Aur., m. Termuthis **3603** 17, 32
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Ἄδριανός: Hadrianus Sallustius, *praef. Aeg.* **3613** 1
Ἄλουράς **3646** 18 (Ἐλουράτι)
Ἀκίς, Aur., **3603** 20, 24
Ἀλέξανδρος *see* Index I s.v. Severus Alexander
Ἀλφείδς, *proc. iusticus* **3601** 15, [18]
Ἀμβρόσιος, *curialis* **3627** 4
Ἀμμιανός: Statilius Ammianus, *praef. Aeg.* **3612** 1
Ἀμμωνιανός, royal scribe, acting strategus **3601** 1
Ἀμμώνιος, f. of Aur. Hates in charge of chaff **3621** 14
Ἀμοιτάς, f. of Aur. Pahelens in charge of tunics and cloaks **3621** 17
Ἀνουβίων [3634 8]
Ἄντωνος *see* Index VI (a)

Ἄντωνός *see* Index I s.vv. Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta; Caracalla; Elagabalus
Ἄντωνός *see* Index I s.v. Gordians I and II
Ἀνχερίμφις? *see* *Ἀγχορίμφις*
Ἀπίων: Fl. Apion, *consul ordinarius* [3641 3]
Ἀπίων (?), s. of Theon, gd.-s. of Diogenes, m. Sarapus **3610** 2?
Ἀπολλωνίδης: Neratius Apollonides, *magister privatae* **3618** 7
Ἀπολλώνιος, Aur., alias Dionysius, priest and archidicastes **3610** 4
Ἀπολλώνιος, ex-strategus of the Small Diopolite nome **3601** 25
Ἀπολλώνιος, Fl. (?), alias Theodulus, logistes **3623** 2
Ἀπολλόνιος **3619** 23

Ἀρθώνιος 3642 1, 34
Ἀριστίων, Aur., chief-priest in office, councillor, prytanis 3606 13
Ἀρποχράς 3644 3, [12], 26-7, 30
Ἀρσανθωῶς 3646 3, [2] (*Ἀρσανθωῶς*)
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Ἀτρής, Aur., in charge of chaff, s. of Ammonius 3621 14
Ἀτρής, Aur., in charge of meat, s. of Silvanus 3621 18
Ἀτρής, Aur., in charge of tunics and cloaks, s. of Tachis 3621 18
Ἀτρηλία see *Τετσειρίς*
Ἀτρηλιανός see Index I s.v. Aurelian
Ἀτρήλιος . . . , s. of Isaac 3641 24-5
Ἀτρήλιος see *Ἀρχορίμφης, Ἀκῆς, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀριστίων, Ἀτρής (ter), Ἀφθόνιος, Ἀχιλλᾶς, Διονύσιος, Διός, Ἰ, Διόσκορος, Ἐρμίας (bis), Θέων, Θώνιος, Ἱέραξ, Ἰέλιων, Κλάρος, Κλαύδιος, Λυκαρίων, Μαμερτίος, Μάρκος, Μέλας, Μουσίης, Νείλος, Ὀνώφρις, Π. . . , Παελένης, Πακλής, Πανεχότης, Παννοῦθις, Πανσᾶς (bis), Πανσίρις, Πεδώρις, Πέτρος, Πετσειρίς, Πεττίρις, Πλουτίων, Προλεμαῖος, Πωλίων, Σαραπάμμων, Σαραπίων, Σερήνος, Τιμόθεος, Χαίρημων*; Index I s.v. Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta;
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Βασιλιός, Fl. Basilius, *vir clarissimus, consul* 3641 2
Βελλῆς, Aur., 3605 15
Βησᾶς, f. of Aur. Paysas comarch 3621 6

Γάιος: Calpurnius (son of?) Gaius, prytanis 3606 4
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Γαλλιπρός see Index I s.v. Valerian and Gallienus
Γάλλος see Index I s.v. Gallus
Γέτας see Index I s.v. Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Geta
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Γορδιανός see Index I s.v. Gordians I and II

Δατιανός: Censorius Datianus, *patricius, consul*, see Index II (AD 359)
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Διογένης s. of Theon(?), nephew of Theon(?) 3643 6
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Διονύσιος, f. of Hierax ex-strategus of the Small Diopolite nome 3601 11

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Μουσίης, Aur., systates, s. of Theon 3622 4 3623 4
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Πάμμαχος, f. of Aur. Paysiris sitologus 3621 14
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Παννοῦθις, Aur., in charge of chaff, s. of Muis 3621 17
Παποντῶς, f. (?) of Heras 3644 1, 32
Παταῖρις, f. of Aur. Paysas in charge of chaff 3621 15
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Καραλαουεῖαν (name or title?) 3637 14
Καρατάμμων: Aur. Claudius Lycarion alias Sarapammon, overseer of prefectural letters and other matters 3615 2
Καραπίς (?), alias Hieraciaena, d. of Hierax exstrategus of the Small Diopolite nome [3601 3?]
Καραπίων: Aur. Hierax alias Sarapion, royal scribe of the Hermopolite nome 3615 4-5
Καραπίων, f. of Aur. Onnophris 3602 24
Καραπίων (?), s. of Theon, gd.-s. of Diogenes, m. Sarapus [3610 2]
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Κεπτίμιος: Septimius Eudaemon, ex-cosmetes of Alexandria, embolarch of the Oxyrhynchite nome, s. of Septimius Serenus 3612 1
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Κερήνος: Septimius Serenus, f. of Septimius Eudaemon ex-cosmetes of Alexandria, embolarch of the Oxyrhynchite nome 3612 3
Κίλβανός, f. of Aur. Hatres in charge of meat 3621 18
Κίλβανός, (f. of?) Aur. P. . . (?) 3622 7
Κίλβανός, γραμματεὺς . . . 3618 5
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Ταύρις, m. of M. Aur. Chaeremon, w. of Aur. Hermias 3638 2
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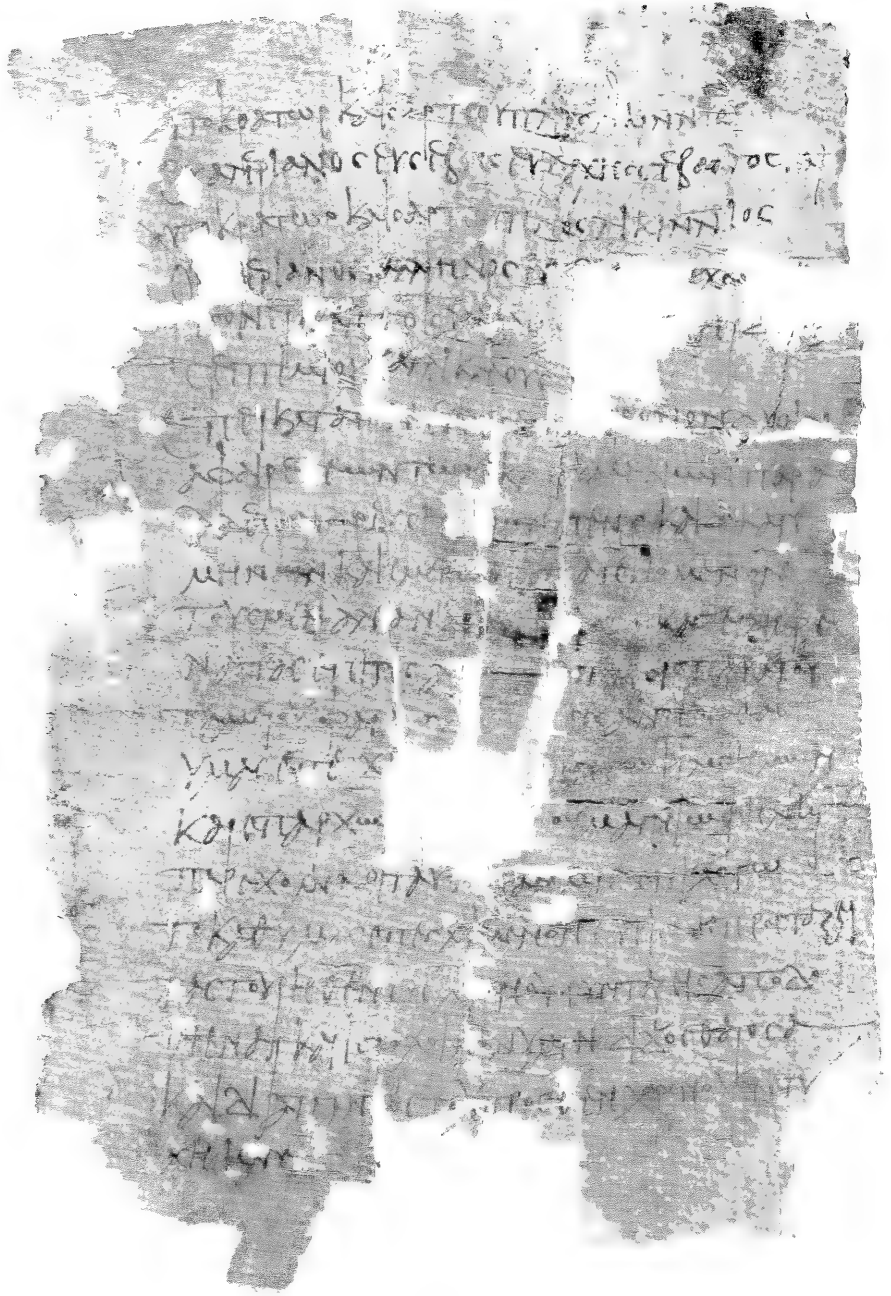
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 ἀποστόλου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
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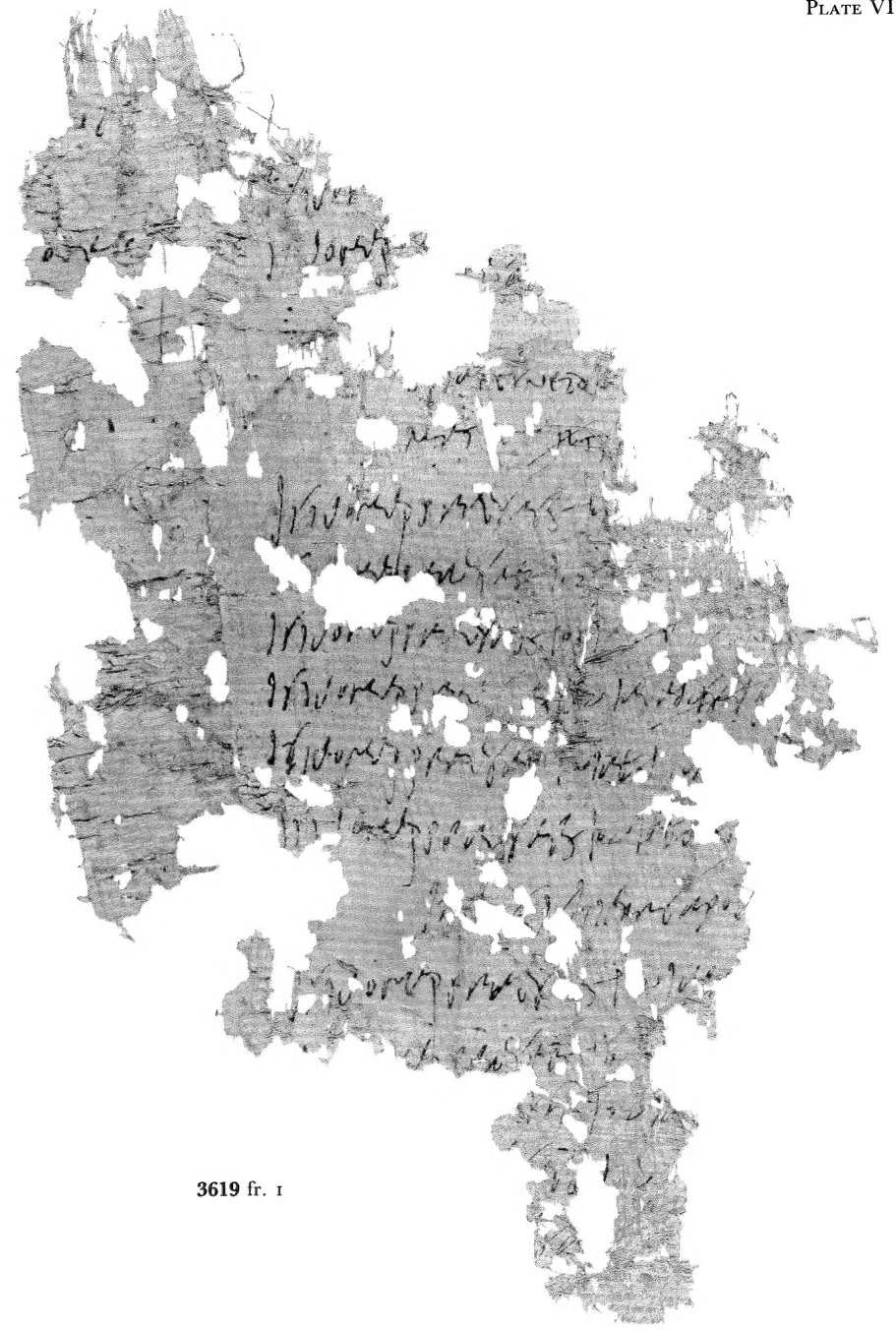
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